

THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY/PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Calif. unions show the way

Protests grow as prices soar

—pages 9-12

The April 28 rally in San Francisco, sponsored by the United Labor Action Committee, has been called to protest the "highest prices in history; wage controls; five million unemployed; unequal taxes that favor the rich;

Socialist answer to rising prices

\$8 billion cutback in health and social service programs."

To solve these problems, *The Militant* believes that the following program should be implemented:

Protect workers against high prices

Workers are not responsible for inflation. The capitalist rulers of this country lie when they try to shift the blame for inflation onto the backs of the working class. Inflation is a permanent feature of modern capitalist economy. It is exacerbated by deficit government spending for war.

Working people need protection against inflation. But we can't count on the government for this. Price controls administered by the capitalist government are a fraud. This was the lesson of Phase 1 and Phase 2, when prices continued to go up but wages were held down.

- To protect workers against inflation, the unions should fight for cost-of-living escalator clauses in every contract, so that wages go up to keep pace with rising prices.

- Such escalator clauses should also be included in Social Security and other retirement benefits, so that retired workers can have an income secure from the effects of inflation.

- Instead of relying on the government's Consumer Price Index, which lags far behind the actual increase in prices, unions and consumer groups should organize their own price-watch committees to document and expose the real rate of inflation.

- End all wage controls. Workers desperately need wage boosts to catch up with

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White House, April 18. Supporters of Nat'l Consumers Congress protest high cost of meat. Consumers Congress set May 5 as Nat'l Day of Protest.

All out May 5!

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OK NOT TO SAY PLEDGE OF ALLEGIANCE: Last fall, Theodore Goetz, an honor student and president of his class at Shaker High School in Latham, N.Y., refused to stand for the pledge of allegiance because "there isn't liberty and justice for all in the United States." He was threatened with suspension unless he stood for the pledge. He claimed he had a First Amendment right to remain seated. Last week, the U.S. Second Circuit Court of Appeals ruled that a student may not be forced to stand or leave the classroom during the pledge.

A few days earlier, the Supreme Court had declined to review a decision reinstating Susan Russo, a high school art teacher, who was fired for refusing to say the pledge of allegiance in her classroom, "as a matter of conscience."

RAZA UNIDA PARTY RUNS FOR SCHOOL BOARD: Three candidates of the Colorado Raza Unida Party announced April 12 that they will run in the May 15 election for the Denver board of education. They are Antonio Archuleta, Nita Aleman, and Madeline Navarro. All three are Denver Chicano activists. Archuleta is a teacher at the Escuela Tlatelolco and Colegio Tlatelolco. Aleman teaches classes at the Escuela Tlatelolco.

BROOKLYN COLLEGE HOLDS MIDEAST TEACH-IN: A precedent was set at the predominantly pro-Israel Brooklyn College campus with a broadly sponsored teach-in on the Middle East held there April 11. Between 200 to 250 people attended the event.

Pro-Palestinian speakers included Peter Buch, author of *Burning Issues of the Mideast Crisis* and a member of the Socialist Workers Party; Fawzi Al-Asmar, an Israeli-Arab poet and leader of the Committee for Human Rights in Israel; and Emmanuel Farjoun, an Israeli mathematician associated with *Matzpen* (Marxist), newspaper of the revolutionary anti-Zionists in Israel. Barry Liben, executive director of Betar; Tzvi Briks, executive director of the United Zionist Revisionists USA; and Gilead Freund of the Committee for the Rescue of Jews in Arab Lands, spoke for the pro-Zionist side.

The teach-in was originally scheduled for December of last year, but the Zionists suddenly withdrew. Dennis Brasky reports that in discussions regarding the teach-in then, some Zionist leaders, including the president of the Jewish Defense League, actually admitted to him that "we have nothing to gain and everything to lose by a debate. We want to keep this issue on an emotional level!"

FARAH BOYCOTT SUPPORTERS PICKET DEPARTMENT STORE: Militant correspondent Arturo Ramirez reports from Detroit that more than 500 trade unionists picketed the H.L. Hudson department store there last week in support of the Farah pants boycott. Hudson's has refused to stop selling Farah pants despite the national boycott.

Dolores Reyes and Maria Luisa Hernandez, who are currently on a national tour to get support for the strike, described conditions in the plants and blasted the company for refusing to recognize the union as the official bargaining agent of the workers. The Farah workers, 85 percent of whom are Chicanas, have been on strike since May 1972. Among the pickets was United Auto Workers Secretary-Treasurer Emil Mazey.

GAY BILL TO BE VOTED ON SOON: A bill that would bar discrimination against homosexuals in employment, housing, and public accommodations is scheduled to be voted on by the General Welfare Committee of the New York city council on April 27. The bill, Intro 475, must be passed by the committee before the full council can act on it. It has been defeated twice in the past. Gay Activist Alliance members, who have been pressing for passage of the bill, say they now have a written pledge of support from a majority of the committee and a majority of council members. They are optimistic that it will pass.

SCHOOL BOARD CANDIDATE NOT OLD ENOUGH?: Scott Cooper, 15, a sophomore at Ossining (N.Y.) High School, has announced he will challenge a New York state law requiring school board candidates to be 18. Cooper, an antiwar activist and coordinator of the Movement for United Student Action, filed petitions as a candidate for the May 2 school board elections but was told he would not get on the ballot unless he could prove he was 18.

The Committee for Democratic Election Laws (CoDEL) is supporting Cooper's right to run. "The issue here," said CoDEL National Secretary Judy Baumann, "is who should decide if Cooper has the requisite qualifications for the school board. We believe that the voters of Ossining can best determine who can represent them." Baumann and David Schwab, Cooper's lawyer, spoke on his behalf at an April 18 public meeting of the board of education. Schwab said he would move to have the courts overturn the age requirement and seek an order placing Cooper's name on the ballot.

LAND OR DEATH: 'EXTREMELY IMPORTANT': Hugo Blanco's *Land or Death: The Peasant Struggle in Peru* (Pathfinder Press, 1972, \$6.95, paper \$2.45) has been selected as an outstanding academic book for 1973 by *Choice* magazine, a major U.S. publishing journal and organ of the Association of College and Research libraries.

A review of *Land or Death* in the February 1973 issue of *Choice*, on which the selection was partly based, states: "Blanco, Trotskyist leader of an early 1960s peasant movement near Cuzco, Peru, has written an extremely important primary document. . . . Blanco's descriptions of the movement itself, formation of a party apparatus (an admitted failure), schisms in the Peruvian left, and the decision to use armed force are excellent. One important aspect of the work is Blanco's account of divisions between Trotskyites and the Peruvian Communist party (referred to as Stalinists), including Communist attempts to sabotage the peasant movement. . . . A must for all undergraduate and graduate libraries."

Reviews of *Land or Death* have also appeared in other U.S. journals, including *Publishers Weekly*, *Library Journal*, the *Union of Radical Latin Americanists Newsletter*, and *Perspective*.

CORONA TO SPEAK AT IMMIGRATION CONFERENCE: Bert Corona, leader of the struggle against deportation of undocumented workers in Los Angeles, will be the featured speaker at a conference on that subject to be held in San Antonio, Texas, May 11-13. The conference, sponsored by the National Coalition for Defense of Immigrant Workers and Their Families, will take place at the Centro Cultural Ruben Salazar, 400 Garner St. For more information contact Mario Cantu at 325 S. Pecos, San Antonio, Texas 78207.

DR. HOWARD LEVY FINALLY VICTORIOUS: Three weeks ago we reported that Article 134 of the Uniform Code of Military Justice, often used against antiwar GIs, was ruled unconstitutional. On April 18, Article 134 and a companion article, 133, were again declared unconstitutional, as the U.S. Third Circuit Court of Appeals in Philadelphia overturned the conviction of Howard Levy, who had been court-martialed in 1967.

Levy was one of the first antiwar soldiers to be court-martialed. He refused to provide medical training to Special Forces troops bound for Vietnam. He also spoke out openly against the war. He was charged with disobeying an order, with making public statements promoting "disloyalty and disaffection among the troops," and making "disloyal" statements to enlisted men.

The court ruled that by linking the charge of disobeying an order with the unconstitutional articles 133 and 134, the Army had prejudiced the case. The Army has 90 days to grant Levy a new trial on the disobedience charge alone.

Levy had already served two years of a three year sentence when he was released on bail in 1969. In a statement, Levy said, "Very few people agreed with my position at the time, but it's become clear that the United States was using medicine for political purposes in South Vietnam, and that was immoral."

His case was handled by the American Civil Liberties Union.

—MIRTA VIDAL

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WATERGATE: NOW MORE THAN EVER, NIXON'S THE ONE



By PETER SEIDMAN

On April 17, President Nixon appeared at a hurriedly summoned press conference to announce that "major developments" had come to light in a new investigation of the Watergate scandal that he personally had ordered.

These new developments meant, Nixon said, that he was no longer ready to deny that White House staff members were involved in a campaign of political espionage and sabotage conducted by agents of the Committee to Re-Elect the President (CREEP) against the Democrats during the 1972 elections.

Nixon's announcement signaled that Watergate had come a long way from being merely a "caper" to a full-fledged scandal for the U. S. government. The highest officials of the Nixon administration are implicated in an affair that, as Peregrine Worsthorne, a pro-Nixon conservative British columnist says, "suggests a standard of values in the White House formerly associated only with the presidential palaces of Latin-American banana republics, by comparison with which the conduct of the Mafia is made to seem positively dignified. . . ."

Nixon's announcement was intended, of course, to focus attention on his subordinates—who, he implies, have been covering up the sordid Watergate mess.

This has produced, according to officials quoted in the April 23 *New York Times*, an "every man for himself" spirit in the White House. Presidential aides have begun to scurry to cover up their tracks, hurling accusations at each other to divert attention from themselves. "'The Haldeman-Ehrlichman side of the White House is in open warfare with the Mitchell-Dean side,' said a senior adviser to President Nixon. . . . 'It is a brutal battle.'"

The press is full of reports that indictments may be handed down against top administration officials, including former attorney general and Nixon campaign manager John Mitchell; presidential counsel John Dean; White House chief of staff H. R. Haldeman; former White House aide Jeb Stuart Magruder; CREEP finance director Maurice Stans; and others.

One fact, which the *New York Times* calls "the imponderable question," becomes unavoidable. Either President Nixon was personally involved in the Watergate planning and cover-up, or he has surrounded himself with the kind of people who take it for granted that he will approve of such activities.

The avalanche of revelations about the Watergate case has forced a number of top officials to admit that past statements of theirs were lies. Nixon no longer says "categorically," as he did Aug. 29, 1972, that "no one in the White House staff, no one in this Administration, presently employed, was involved. . . ."

Mitchell has completely reversed his March 29, 1973, statement that "I deeply resent the slanderous and false statements about me concerning the Watergate matter. I have previously denied any prior knowledge of our involvement in the Watergate affair and again reaffirm such denials."

Nixon now says he has appointed Henry Peterson, an assistant attorney general, to head a

special White House investigation into Watergate. Further, he has agreed to permit his aides to testify under oath before a special Senate committee headed by Sam Ervin (D-N. C.). This represents a reversal of his position that he could invoke "executive privilege" to prevent any one of the 2.5 million employees of the executive branch from testifying before Congress.

Former White House staff member William Safire, writing in the April 19 *New York Times*, says, "This is not a tragic moment for Mr. Nixon, nor a sad day for democracy; on the contrary, for people who want all Presidents to succeed, this is a moment to take heart. For all players in the game of politics, as well as for Richard Nixon, this is comeback time—and when it comes to comebacks, the world's leading expert has just made his appearance on the right side of the Watergate investigation."

Safire expects a level of stupidity on the part of his readers consistent with the contempt in which the capitalist rulers of this country hold the masses of people.

In fact, Nixon's turnabout was not a "comeback" for the "democratic system." Rather, it resulted from fear that the increasing national revulsion with the scandal will seriously damage public confidence in that system and the Republican and Democratic parties that administer it.

Nixon got this message from top GOP politicians who were scurrying away from him as fast as his administrative assistants were scurrying to cover up their own tracks at each other's expense.

In a survey conducted for the *Wall Street Journal* and reported on April 6, before Nixon's turn-around, it was reported that 54 percent of those polled believed the White House was trying to cover up the Watergate trail. "Something's rotten in Denmark, and it seems to me the President is trying to keep it quiet," said one voter.

And the April 16 *Washington Post* quoted one woman, previously a solid Nixon supporter, who explained her reaction to Watergate this way: "I've become disillusioned and extremely cynical these past months. I guess I understand better how the young people have felt about the government. When they're even using the sacrosanct FBI for their purposes, wow! It's getting pretty bad when you can't trust the President."

The *Post* found that "invariably, the Watergate case is associated in people's minds with a broader feeling of distrust for the government."

And this pressure began to alarm the vote-conscious officials of the Republican Party. The *Wall Street Journal* poll, for example, found that "nearly one out of five of the key independent or 'swing' voters, whose ballots determine many elections, say they might turn against Republican candidates; and two out of 11 Republican voters say the same." It is this, and not the campaign of sabotage and espionage that has Republican Party officials upset.

Democrat John Connally, a key Nixon supporter, has delayed his announced switch to the Republican Party in the light of the Watergate scandal. Barry Goldwater, conservative Republican leader, has called on Nixon to "get rid of the smell" of the episode, which he compared

to the Teapot Dome scandal under President Harding in the 1920s.

In an interview with the *Christian Science Monitor* published April 11, Goldwater explained that "if the President doesn't clear up Watergate soon, the incident will seriously disadvantage GOP candidates all over the country next year and prevent a Republican from succeeding Mr. Nixon in the White House."

Even Spiro Agnew, his eye on the 1976 Republican presidential nomination, has taken his distance from his boss. Agnew says he's "appalled" by what's happening, but can't speak out because of his place in "the team."

And the latest Gallup Poll, taken April 6-9, reveals that Nixon's popularity has fallen 14 percentage points since the late January Vietnam "peace" announcement—five points in the first week of April alone.

However, far more is at stake for the Democratic and Republican party politicians than the individual prestige of one or another candidate or officeholder. What is at stake is the confidence of the masses of people in the capitalist government as a whole. It was when the polls began to show that the Watergate revelations were leading to a "broader feeling of distrust for the government" that the politicians suddenly and dramatically pretended to oppose what had happened.

Tactics such as espionage and sabotage of political opponents are commonly accepted practice for the U. S. government. These methods are regularly used against radical opponents of the war in Indochina; against Black, Chicano, and Puerto Rican activists; and against militants in the trade-union movement.

The capitalist government in Washington regularly uses spies and violence against nations all over the world. And spying and sabotage are a routine feature of the conduct of all multinational U. S. corporations. Take, for example, the activities of ITT in Chile.

The truth is, Democratic and Republican officials are upset about Watergate not because espionage, sabotage, and corruption in high places disturb them, but because people found out about it!

For when masses of people lose their illusions in the honesty of the government, it becomes harder and harder for the capitalist minority to pretend its rule is in the interests of the majority.

The use of slogans like "law and order" to win support for racist and antilabor capitalist police forces and courts is severely undermined when top government officials are caught conspiring with veterans of the Bay of Pigs invasion and other unsavory types for purposes of breaking and entering, bugging, and political sabotage.

The Watergate scandal has dramatically widened the "credibility gap" originally created by Washington's lies about the Vietnam war.

Nixon's "honorable peace" is rapidly crumbling in Indochina and opposition to the administration's wage controls is mounting as prices continue to soar. Nixon, now—more than ever—will want to discourage the people of the U. S. from taking independent action against his policies. But it gets harder and harder for him to do this by saying, "Trust me, instead."

Nixon threatens Hanoi in effort to rescue Lon Nol dictatorship

From Intercontinental Press

By ALLEN MYERS

In the brief space of four days, the Nixon administration has taken three major steps in the reescalation of the Indochina war. Between April 16 and 19, Nixon:

- renewed the bombing of Laos with strikes by B-52s and fighter-bombers;
- halted the clearing of mines from North Vietnamese harbors;
- resumed aerial reconnaissance flights over North Vietnam.

Both the logic of these moves and public statements by the Nixon administration indicated that the actions were a deliberate threat to Hanoi. Their message was: Acquiesce in U.S. attempts to roll back the Indochinese revolution or face the possibility of renewed bombing raids or other acts of war against North Vietnam.

On April 16 and 17, U.S. planes bombed villages and other populated areas of Laos around Tha Vieng, southeast of the Plaine des Jarres. The *New York Times* quoted the Pathet Lao radio as saying that "As the population of Xieng Khouang was joyously celebrating the traditional Laotian New Year, the aggressive authorities of Washington sent their B-52 strategic bombers, which made three sorties over villages 15 kilometers south of the city of Xieng Khouang, causing numerous losses in human lives and property." Several hours later, according to the radio, additional planes attacked the same area.

On April 17, U.S. naval forces abruptly halted the clearing of mines from Haiphong harbor. Removal of the mines is required by the January 27 Vietnam cease-fire agreement, but the work has been carried out at a snail's pace and is still far from completion.

Then on April 20, Pentagon officials told reporters that U.S. planes had resumed reconnaissance flights over North Vietnam—again in direct violation of the cease-fire agreement.

Nixon spokesmen publicly threatened even more aggressive actions. For example, Bernard Gwertzman wrote in the April 21 *New York Times*:

"Secretary of Defense Elliot L. Richardson said in an interview that the Administration was seeking by its latest actions 'to send a message' to Hanoi through means other than diplomatic protests.

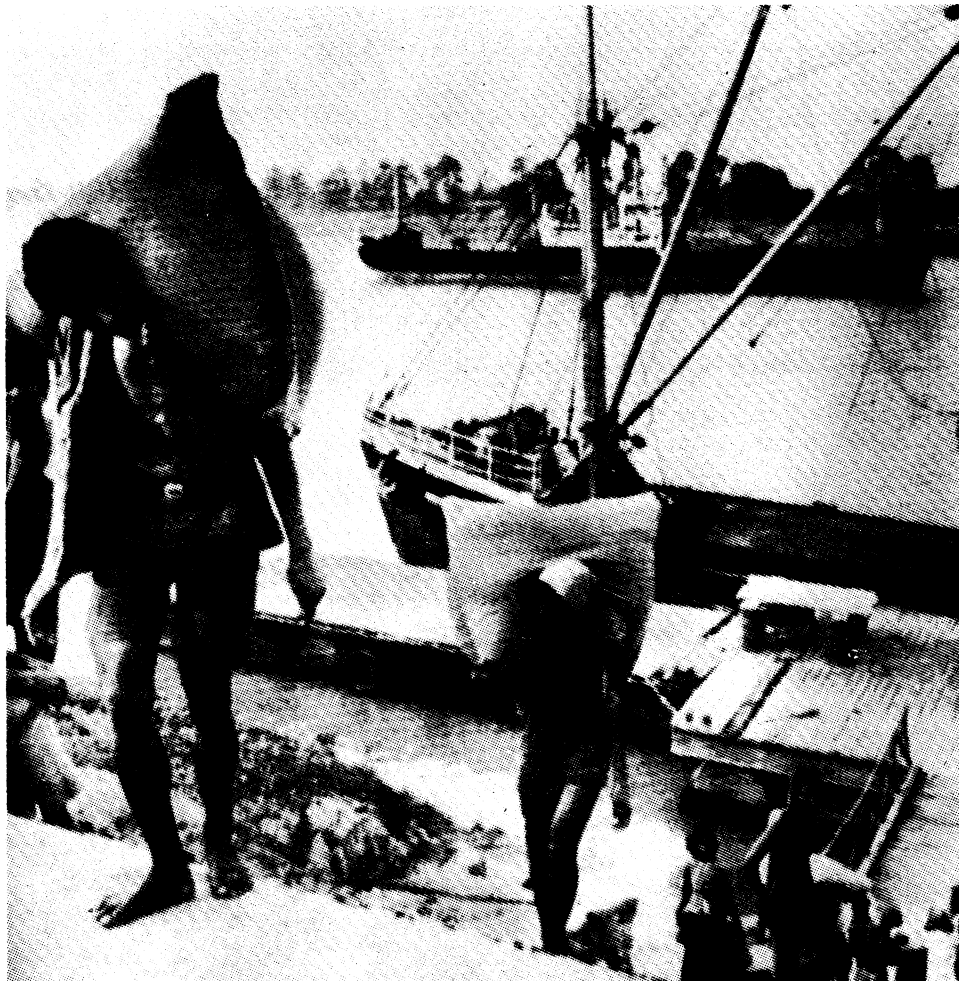
"He said that Hanoi should interpret the moves as 'signals of possible retaliatory action.' He also said that Administration officials had in the past not foreclosed the possibility that the United States might 'invoke more extreme measures.'"

For the sake of domestic public consumption, Nixon of course attempted to justify his violations of the agreement by means of alleged North Vietnamese violations. This has been a continual propaganda theme since January 27. It is instructive, however, to look at the specifics of these charges. Gwertzman wrote in the April 22 *New York Times*:

"What the Administration accuses the North Vietnamese of is:

- Large-scale infiltration of men and supplies into South Vietnam. The Paris accord bars entry of additional troops into the South and permits only one-for-one replenishment of worn-out weapons.

● Failure to use their influence on the Cambodian insurgents to help bring about a cease-fire in Cambodia. Henry Kissinger claims he had an



Only a trickle of supplies reaches Phnom Penh via Mekong River because of encirclement by rebels.

'understanding' with Hanoi obligating them to do so.

● Failure to use their influence on the Pathet Lao to move promptly toward formation of a coalition government in Laos. The Laotian cease-fire of Feb. 22 envisages a coalition, but the North Vietnamese regulars in Laos do not have to leave until 60 days after the coalition is in place."

It would be difficult to imagine a blunter description of what Nixon means by "peace with honor." The North Vietnamese are being told that they must abandon the South Vietnamese liberation forces to the mercies of Nguyen Van Thieu, force the Pathet Lao into a junior partnership with the U.S. puppet regime, and force the Cambodian insurgents to settle with Lon Nol, the "mayor of Pnompenh," who appears in increasing danger of losing even that precarious post.

Nixon, it should be noted, is asking the North Vietnamese to do for U.S. imperialism what it has not been able to do for itself. His most immediate concern is undoubtedly Cambodia, where the thoroughly corrupt Lon Nol regime appears as likely to collapse from the weight of its own venality as from the attacks of the liberation forces.

After considerable arm-twisting by U.S. diplomats, Lon Nol on April 18 announced preliminary moves toward setting up a "government" to include members of the "loyal opposition," most notably Sirik Matak, the Nixon administration's favorite. It was announced that Lon Non, Lon Nol's brother and the reputed strong man of the shrinking dictatorship, would be sent on a diplomatic mission to Washington.

If Nixon does finally force a reshuffling of the Pnompenh "government," it seems unlikely to accomplish much more than a redistribution of the available graft. "The corruption," Barry Kramer wrote in the April 16 *Wall Street Journal*, "reaches to the highest levels. Lon Non... is commander of the Third Division, and

U.S. officials say a substantial amount of money is drawn for that division's ghost soldiers. Both brothers are known to have large bank accounts in France, Switzerland and Hong Kong."

Kramer quoted a U.S. embassy official as saying, "The corruption in Phnom Penh infects everything within 50 kilometers." The statement may have been an exaggeration: The influence of the puppet regime appears not to reach that far from the capital. Kramer, in fact, estimates that the "government" controls only 20 percent of Cambodia's territory.

In a long dispatch from Pnompenh to the April 22 *New York Times*, Mark Gayn wrote that the atmosphere there was "like Shanghai on the eve of Chiang Kai-shek's defeat."

Among other forms of corruption, Gayn reported, there is a lively traffic in U.S.-supplied armaments:

"According to knowledgeable Western sources, some generals at the front are selling their U.S.-supplied ammunition to the Communists, who promptly fire it back at the Government troops. The Communists also purchase from the generals the essentials their armed forces need, including rice and fuel."

It is this gang of thieves that Nixon wants the North Vietnamese to prop up by using their "influence" over the Cambodian liberation forces. Even if they were so inclined, however, it is unlikely that Hanoi's "influence" reaches that far. Despite the Nixon administration's propaganda, which portrays the war as the result of "North Vietnamese aggression," even some U.S. bourgeois papers have begun to point out that the rebel forces are made up almost entirely of Cambodians. Malcolm W. Browne wrote in the April 21 *New York Times* of a surprising confession by U.S. officials in Pnompenh:

"Official American sources here said today [April 20] that since the Vietnam cease-fire three months ago, there has been no documented evidence that Vietnamese Communist troops are serving in combat roles in Cambodia."

Ellsberg tells why U.S. could not win war

By HAYDEN PERRY

APRIL 20—The defense in the Pentagon papers trial completed its testimony and rested its case yesterday. The prosecution is now calling a number of rebuttal witnesses. This is expected to take another week, after which the case will go to the jury.

Daniel Ellsberg resumed his testimony April 16. He wanted to give further reasons for his copying the Pentagon papers, but Judge Matthew Byrne wouldn't permit it. Byrne said the motive for an alleged criminal act was immaterial.

Later, however, Ellsberg was permitted to testify as to why he believed the U.S. was not hurt by publication of the papers. He told the court the U.S. could not have been injured because the Pentagon papers simply described the realities of the situation in Vietnam.

Among the "realities" he cited was the fact that the war originated in "a French effort at the military reconquest of a former colony," an effort that was "opposed by the vast majority of the people of Vietnam."

Second, Ellsberg noted, the papers show that the U.S.-supported Saigon regimes were "narrow-based, corrupt, unrepresentative regimes which had essentially no support in Vietnam other than the soldiers and officials that we hired with our money to support it..."

Third, he said the papers showed the U.S. could not "win" the Vietnam war "because the portion of people who were actively resisting our presence was so dedicated to removing foreign influence—our own—from that country, so well led, so confident and had so much sympathy in the rest of the population, that there was no way for us to destroy them without destroying all of the population of South Vietnam and occupying with our troops every piece of that territory, which the American people, the papers indicated, were not going to allow."

Ellsberg concluded by saying that his hope in disclosing the Pentagon papers was that the information "might give Congress [the] self-confidence to act to end the war."

The last witness called by the defense was Richard Falk, professor of international law at Princeton University. Defense attorney Leonard Boudin asked him whether he believed any violations of international law were revealed in the Pentagon papers. How-

Continued on page 22



Defense attorney Leonard Boudin

Protests mount against 'Labor Committee' violence

NCLC hooligans attack Columbia meeting

By DOUG JENNESS

NEW YORK, April 24—About 60 hooligans from the National Caucus of Labor Committees (NCLC) unsuccessfully tried to storm the platform at a meeting of mayoral candidates at Columbia University last night. This was the most serious in the recent series of physical attacks the NCLC has launched against the Communist Party and the Socialist Workers Party.

The NCLC hoodlums were prevented from physically harming State Assemblyman Albert Blumenthal, contender for the Democratic nomination; Rasheed Storey, Communist Party candidate; and Joanna Misnik, Socialist Workers Party candidate for city council president who was speaking for Norman Oliver, SWP candidate for mayor.

Members of the Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist Alliance, and the Communist Party, as well as some Columbia University students, defended the platform.

The NCLC goons, however, were successful in breaking up the meeting. Armed with clubs, num-chucks (jointed sticks), and brass knuckles, they started to rush the stage im-

Attempts to convince the organizers of the meeting, the Columbia University student Board of Managers, that this was a serious threat and that NCLC disrupters should be excluded from the meeting, were unsuccessful.

About 20 minutes before the meeting began, the NCLC hooligans came into the meeting together. One of the thugs carried some long clubs concealed in a blanket. One of the defense leaders and the organizers of the meeting persuaded him to leave before the meeting began. Other NCLC thugs wore rings over leather gloves.

When Storey arrived, the NCLC hooligans started screaming, "Scab! Scab!" In their frenzy, some of them yelled out right-wing epithets like "Commie scab! Commie scab!"

Others screamed that Storey was a fascist and in cahoots with Philadelphia Mayor Frank Rizzo. Some of them continued their yelling even while Chaitkin presented an incoherent and frenzied tirade against the Communist Party and Rasheed Storey.

This reporter talked to several people at the meeting who have attended NCLC public functions recently. They indicated that they had never before seen many of the NCLC members at last night's meeting. These particular members looked the most like thugs. They were the ones who led the shouting and the charge on the stage. It is clear that the NCLC's public policy of physically trying to eliminate radical organizations like the CP and the SWP has opened the door for police agents and right-wing scum.

Protests against the NCLC's gangster-like campaign are beginning to be registered. Before last night's attack, a statement strongly condemning this hooliganism had been signed by Annette Rubenstein, Marxist literary critic; Nat Hentoff, *Village Voice* columnist; Norman Oliver, SWP mayoral candidate; Jim Ostroff, editor of the *Queens College Phoenix*; Jack Newgarten, New York University Social Democrats; Marshall Whitman, NYU Radical Zionist Alliance; Jim Fitzer, president of Hunter School of General Studies student government; and others.

In an editorial in its April 25 issue the *Guardian* also stated that it "strongly condemns the physical attacks and verbal threats against the Communist Party and its affiliated groups by a handful of people calling themselves the National Caucus of Labor Committees."

Since last night's attack a campaign has been launched at Columbia University to get as many organizations as possible to protest this outrage. A joint statement is being circulated calling on "groups and individuals who support basic democratic rights to join in a campaign to repudiate the NCLC attack on Monday night's meeting and their use of violence in the movement."

So far it has been signed by Mark Kirschner, Columbia Democratic Caucus; Rebecca Waters, editor of *Barnard Bulletin*; John Buddenholz, United Farmworkers Support Committee; George Robinson, Student Libertarian Action Movement; Rob McCauly, member of Community Service Council; Rudolfo Orazep, Columbia OWL; Arlene Abadlaine, Student Assembly; Arlene Rubenstein, Young Socialist Alliance; Gail Robinson; Aura Riviera; Beverly Copeland; and Kathleen Graves.

Joanna Misnik, speaking for the SWP, told *The Militant* that "there are important lessons to be drawn from this attack at Columbia University. One is that even though the NCLC did not achieve its main goal of beating up the speakers, it broke up the



Columbia Spectator

Armed attack by 'Labor Committee' disrupted a 'meet the mayoral candidates' meeting at Columbia University in New York.

A leaflet headlined "You will not goon for the CP!" and signed by the National Caucus of Labor Committees was passed out April 24. It concludes with an explicit "warning" to the Socialist Workers Party, saying, "When you did all the fighting for the Communist Party at the Monday mayoral forum, we held back—we gave you a mild warning. . . . But should you repeat as goons for the CP, we will put all of you in the hospital; we will deal with you as we are dealing with the Communist Party."

This threat underlines the importance of a broad defense of the right of radical organizations to function in the face of NCLC gangsterism.

diately following a speech by Tony Chaitkin, the NCLC mayoral candidate. Chaitkin was the first speaker.

The NCLC thugs pulled clubs out of their jackets, picked up chairs, and started clubbing their way to the platform. They were confronted, however, by 75 to 80 marshals who were prepared to defend the stage. After a pitched battle lasting about seven or eight minutes, the NCLC thugs retreated, taking their injured with them. Six victims of the NCLC assault required medical treatment. They are Wayne Glover, Craig Gannon, Jack Lieberman, Tom Tilitz, Nat London, and Jesse Smith. Tilitz was hospitalized overnight before being released. No one was seriously injured.

During the few days prior to the meeting the NCLC distributed a leaflet entitled "Whither Rasheed?" warning that they would attempt to break up last night's meeting and physically attack Storey. The leaflet reads in part: "With the CP hacks unable to hold public meetings or to organize, in terror of the YWLL [Young Workers Liberation League] membership enraged at yet another sellout, in terror of Operation Mop-Up, there remains only 1 question:

"If Storey shows up Monday night, can his fast-sinking mayoral campaign be buoyed up by anything less than several dozen 'husky workers' employed by the N. Y. P. D. [New York Police Department]?"

meeting. This was a defeat for the right of political candidates to express their views and for students at Columbia to hear those views.

"The only effective way to prevent this undemocratic disruption is to exclude the NCLC thugs from meetings. They have only one purpose, which they have publicly admitted and demonstrated by their actions, and that is to break up the meetings."

She went on to say that no amount of pressure from the audience can deter armed hooligans who have this aim. In order to keep the meetings open to those who want to hear the speakers, it is necessary to organize defense teams to prevent disrupters from entering the meeting hall.

"Another lesson," she explained, "is that no section of the radical movement is immune from these attacks. This makes it imperative that all individuals and organizations who support democratic rights join together in mobilizing the broadest possible protest against the NCLC's hooliganism."

"Despite political differences, the entire radical movement should be alerted to the danger of this violence and cooperate in isolating the NCLC. Only when the NCLC recognizes that the entire radical movement opposes its actions and that it cannot break up meetings will it be deterred from its vicious campaign."

APRIL 25—Over the past week the National Caucus of Labor Committees has continued its campaign of threats and gangster attacks against organizations in the radical movement in several cities.

The NCLC's hooliganism was launched in an April 11 assault on members of the Young Workers Liberation League at Temple University in Philadelphia. In that incident two YWLL members received broken noses and one a broken rib. The group of attackers, armed with pipes and other weapons, were directed by NCLC leader Jose Torres. Torres turned himself in to the police April 17 and faces charges of assault and battery as well as conspiracy.

On April 18 a group of NCLC members attempted to break up a class

at the Du Bois School of Marxist Studies, which is part of the Free School at Georgetown University in Washington, D.C. The incident was described to *The Militant* by Abe Bloom, a coordinator of the National Peace Action Coalition, who was attending the class.

Bloom said in the middle of the class "about 20 thuggy-looking characters came in, circled the room, and their spokesman stated that the class would not be allowed to continue." After members of the class succeeded in engaging the thugs in a discussion, however, the leader gave a signal and they all left.

"It was an attempt to intimidate the class," said Bloom "but it just didn't work."

On April 18, according to the April 19 *Daily World*, 18 members of the NCLC invaded the People's Bookstore in Newark, N.J., and plastered leaflets on the windows.

The appearance and type of slogans used by some of the NCLC thugs (such as "commies!") would indicate that right-wingers or police agents may well be involved. On April 13 a person identified as one of the attackers of the YWLL at Temple University was arrested in Philadelphia and found to be carrying a loaded .38 revolver. He is Daniel Valdes, a parole investigator for the state of Pennsylvania.

The methods employed by the NCLC create a perfect atmosphere for police agents to further their aim of destroying all movements for social change.

The April 24 *Daily World* reports an attack by some 20 armed NCLC thugs on a meeting of the Martin Luther King Coalition in Buffalo, N.Y. Three participants in the meeting were sent to the hospital, and the NAACP headquarters, where the meeting was held, was wrecked.

Another NCLC attempt at disruption occurred April 20 at a meeting addressed by Andrew Pulley, national

Continued on page 14

In Our Opinion

Daily World falsification

In the current campaign of attacks by the National Caucus of Labor Committees against the Communist Party, Young Workers Liberation League, and other radical groups, the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance have been in the forefront of the fight to stop these hoodlum tactics (see page 5). Despite political differences with the CP, the SWP has helped defend democratic rights in the movement, as in the case of the recent NCLC attack at Columbia University.

Thus it was especially abominable to see the column by Morris Davis in the April 21 issue of the *Daily World*, Communist Party newspaper. Davis attempts to link the NCLC goon tactics with the Trotskyist movement, saying that "in the 40s the main disrupters were the Trotskyites, followers of Leon Trotsky." (Davis rehashes a number of other lies long since discredited: that the Trotskyists have supposedly been union wreckers in the service of the bosses and racketeers, and that the Trotskyists—the first victims of the Smith Act for their revolutionary socialist opposition to World War II—were "fifth columnists of the fascist Axis powers" during the war.)

The attempt to link Trotskyist organizations—the SWP and the YSA—with the NCLC attacks is outrageous, as is obvious to any honest person who has witnessed the role of the SWP and YSA in answering the NCLC's recent attacks. The NCLC goon methods have nothing whatsoever to do with Trotskyism or the traditions of the Bolshevik Party led by Lenin and Trotsky.

The consistent record of the SWP in defending democratic rights within the radical and labor movements is well known.

Morris Davis' column is an attempt to cover up for those who *did* introduce violence into the radical movement: the Stalinists and the Stalinized Communist parties throughout the world. The hoodlum methods used by these parties were learned from the Stalinist bureaucracy in the Soviet Union, a bureaucracy that could only maintain its parasitic existence through the use of torture, frame-up trials, executions, assassinations, and secret police terror.

Just one example of the extent of these terror methods was Khrushchev's admission in 1956 that in the late 1930s Stalin executed 70 percent of the Soviet CP's central committee elected in 1934. To this day the heirs of Stalin in the Kremlin maintain a police state in which all political dissent is outlawed.

Trained in this tradition of using police-type terror to deal with political opposition, Stalinized parties throughout the world have used the same tactics against political opponents to the degree that their strength allowed them to get away with it.

When those who opposed the degeneration of the Russian revolution under Stalin were expelled from the U.S. Communist Party in 1928, CP goons repeatedly and viciously attacked meetings of the newly organized revolutionary socialist movement. CP thugs also attacked people selling *The Militant* on the streets.

During the 1940s Trotskyists and other militants in Europe were executed and assassinated both by the fascists and by the Stalinists. Trotsky himself was assassinated by an agent of Stalin in 1940.

The systematic use of violence against the American Trotskyists by the followers of Stalin abated only after the Trotskyists showed they could mobilize broad support for the right to carry on political activity and physically defend their meetings. But even in the recent past members of the CP and YWLL have resorted to threats of violence, and in some cases physical attacks, against Trotskyists. An example was the attack last winter on Will Stanley, a student at the Borough of Manhattan Community College in New York.

The *Daily World's* linking of the Trotskyist movement with goon tactics against workers organizations will be repudiated by all who are familiar with the record of the SWP. At the same time, *The Militant* urges all groups and individuals who support democratic rights to unite in a common effort to repudiate the hooligan attacks of the NCLC, to organize to stop the breaking up of movement meetings, and to defend organizations under attack.

Malcolm X

A few lines to let you know that I read my first *Militant* newspaper today. It was given to me by a comrade. I was very pleased by the article "Who assassinated Malcolm X?" (*Militant*, March 9). We need more of this.

A prisoner
New York

On the spot

I don't agree with everything in your paper, but you do seem to get the facts a lot quicker than the other news media, like the killings at Southern University in Louisiana.

First, according to most accounts, it was the students who had started shooting; then, well, maybe it wasn't. No one was sure. And then, perhaps the police started it. By this time one was hard put to find this information in the newspapers, and it was not on TV. And then there was no doubt the police had fired first.

Only in your paper did I read that the police from the beginning were responsible for the whole affair. You were the first to say all the rest as well.

C. S.

Lexington, Ky.

'Christian homeland'

I would like to answer a letter published in the March 30 *Militant* under the heading "Jewish homeland." I think it is important for the writer of that letter to know there is no such thing as a "Jewish homeland." Palestine belongs to the Arabs, not to any one group of people of a certain religion.

If Palestine is a "Jewish homeland" because Judaism was started there, then it can also be stated that Christianity was started there, making it the homeland of the Christians as well.

J. N.

El Paso, Texas

Prison frame-up

I am now held in solitary confinement. I have been thus held more than 18 months under adverse, inhuman conditions in comparison with which animals are treated better.

I came from Auburn prison to Clinton June 1, 1971, (Auburn rebellion) and was placed in segregation illegally, as I had violated no prison rules. Shortly after I was let out of my cell (to empty the waste bucket), I was viciously assaulted by approximately 15 to 20 correctional officers.

Naturally I had to fight them to prevent them from killing me right then and there. In so doing, I've been indicted for assault in the second degree (seven counts) for defending myself.

My case is on the calendar for trial now and will commence at any time. Only by your sense of justice and protests will this outrageous frame-up be stopped.

Dim Mak

Dim Mak Legal Defense Committee

c/o Jesse Berman

351 Broadway

New York, N. Y. 10013

Colombian socialists

A few days ago, thanks to a friend, we were able to get into our hands and discuss extensively the socialist newspaper *The Militant*. We sincerely confess we had no idea that so radically Marxist a proletarian movement existed in the den of capitalism. We greet you in the name of Colombian socialists, of which we are a collective.

Outside of the news articles that related the current stage of the mass struggle in the USA, another article in the Jan. 19 issue that caught our attention was the one on the Left Opposition in the USSR, which analyzed the 1925 split between Zinoviev and Stalin.

(We would like to expand further our information on this concrete aspect of Trotsky's life and the Bolshevik revolution by analyzing a work you announce in your newspaper, *The Stalin School of Falsification*.)

Your article "Why socialists oppose the state of Israel" greatly clarified for us the Mideast conflict, as well as anti-Semitism and the struggle of the Palestinians. We cannot leave out your magnificent supplement on the current situation in Argentina.

In the warmest way we call for your revolutionary solidarity with our collective of socialist students. It would be extremely useful for us to regularly receive your press, pamphlets, and books, which lay a sound basis for our socialist and Marxist formation.

L. A.

Universidad del Valle

Cali, Colombia

Informative

I find *The Militant* to be very informative, especially regarding stories the money-controlled dailies won't print. The depth of the coverage and the variety of subjects makes each page a new reading experience.

A prisoner

California

Good work

I am enjoying *The Militant* and wish I had run across it sooner. Keep up the good work in reporting the truth.

E. L.

Denver, Colo.

Biased?

This excerpt from a recent *Washington Post* article on the twentieth anniversary of Stalin's death speaks volumes about the lack of workers democracy in the Soviet Union:

"At Moscow's Museum of the History of the Revolution . . . one room is devoted to the uprising of 1905.

Leon Trotsky played perhaps the crucial role in that uprising as leader of the Petersburg Soviet, but Trotsky is not pictured or mentioned in the 1905 room. Where is he?

"'He was an enemy of the people,' the attendant, an elderly lady, replies.

"But didn't he make an important contribution in 1905?

"'He was an enemy of the people,' she repeats."

J. B.

New York, N. Y.



National Picket Line

Marvel Scholl

Rail pact

The text of the "historic landmark" railroad agreement confirms your analysis (*The Militant*, March 30) of this remarkable development. It provides a 4 percent annual wage increase through Dec. 31, 1974.

The pension deal will put another \$42.75 in our paychecks each month beginning Oct. 1, 1973. But this is money *we already earn* in wages and is now deducted for Railroad Retirement benefits. The carriers have agreed to pick up the tab for these benefits above what other workers are taxed for Social Security.

The rail union paper *Labor* explained that if Congress does not approve this package, the agreement will have to be renegotiated.

This is stated explicitly by the general president of the Carmen's union, A. L. Krause. He says in a letter urging membership approval: "As you know, our railroad pensions and our contributions thereto are covered by federal laws, and any changes in benefits or contributions require legislation to change the law. This agreement, therefore, must be contingent upon the enactment of legislation accomplishing the purposes specified in the understanding."

Members of the Carmen's union are the only ones who have had a chance to see the agreement as yet. There is opposition here, but I think it will go through as outlined.

The union heads want to lower the retirement age in order to promise work for those younger men who will be laid off when the size of work crews is reduced, as will happen under this agreement.

P. C.
Minneapolis, Minn.

Convinced

Enclosed you will find a check for a *Militant* and *International Socialist Review* subscription. Last fall I visited the Militant Bookstore in Denver several times and talked extensively with several members of the Young Socialist Alliance. But since moving to Charlottesville I've lost touch with your publication.

Through my reading of several Pathfinder books and my observation of the political and economic realities of American society, I've become more convinced of the necessity — actually the correctness — of the socialist alternative.

Although I had worked for McGovern, I had begun to lose interest in the two-party system. From first-hand observation I realized that the two parties were merely tools to reinforce capitalist repression at home and imperialist aggression abroad.

T. C.
Charlottesville, Va.

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if your name may be used or if you prefer that your initials be used instead.

'Not reflected in the statistics'

On Feb. 6, the Bureau of Labor Statistics released the first reports of 60,000 employers subject to the terms of the 1970 Occupational Safety and Health Act. These figures are for the period of July 1 through Dec. 31, 1971.

During that six-month period, 4,300 workers died as the result of industrial accidents.

One sentence in the introduction to this report had real meaning: "It is believed that some illnesses of occupational origin may not be recognized and therefore not reflected in the statistics."

On Feb. 27, Ohio Senator Robert Taft Jr. introduced the Respiratory Disease Benefits Act into the Senate. Taft's presentation and documentation for his bill is impressive, indeed. He states that approximately 300,900 workers in industries where dangerous dust impairs lung function will be afflicted with diseases all the way from silicosis to asbestosis. There are 10 such areas where these black lung-type respiratory ailments (some cancerous) exist.

In 18 states, workmen's compensation regulations put rigid time limitations and the burden of proof on applicants. In two states the workmen's compensation law does not cover dust disease at all. The same limiting regulations prohibit federal disability payments to dust disease victims.

The list of these industrial diseases, and their symptoms and prognosis for victims, is too long for this column. So I have chosen to discuss asbestosis and its related cancer, mesothelioma, and the story of the small town of Manville, N.J., to illustrate the problem.

Manville, N.J., the home of the gigantic Johns-Manville Corporation, has a population of less than 15,000. It is a one-industry town — the processing of raw asbestos so that this magic mineral can be used in the manufacture of 3,000 products.

In Manville, the dust diseases, asbestosis and mesothelioma, are endemic. According to the *New York Post*, Manville is "in the grip of a chemical stranglehold that will not run its chilling course for many years to come." More than 30 percent of the population and 75 percent of the 3,000 J-M employees have asbestosis or mesothelioma.

Lung cancer rates are eight times the general U. S. norm.

Since 1963, 62 residents have died from meso-

thelioma. In the general population this disease hits only one person in 10,000.

Johns-Manville has known the deadly quality of asbestos dust since it began its own research in 1929. During all those years (until 1970) it used its own employees as guinea pigs, testing, x-raying and examining, with the same disregard for findings it would have accorded animals. Medical records were kept secret from the employees. When symptoms became severe enough (coughing, shortness of breath, and general lassitude) the worker had two choices — quit or be fired.

In 1970 the United Papermakers and Paperworkers, in unity with the 26 other unions with whom J-M deals, won a 158-day strike, a major issue of which was the opening of medical records to employees.

The fight over this issue was led by the young workers, some of them second and third generation J-M employees who listened nightly to their parents' agonized coughing.

When the 1970 Occupational Safety and Health Act became effective, J-M (and all other factories and mills) were forced, for the first time, to submit to inspection. Dust levels were found to be dangerously high. After long negotiations, the corporation agreed to install ventilators and blowers to meet a level of 5.2 asbestos particles per cubic centimeter. Now they claim to have reached a low of 2.5 particles.

Authoritative researchers do not consider 2.5 particles safe. They agree that the only really safe level is zero.

To this J-M has one answer — automation. During the past six years this corporation has already cut its Manville plant work force from 3,200 to 1,800 — mostly through attrition but also by elimination of certain operations and "better housekeeping."

If J-M keeps its threat to completely automate its Manville plant, that town will become a ghost town, inhabited only by the dying and sick unemployed.

The Taft Respiratory Diseases Benefit bill was referred to the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, where it will probably die in a cozy pigeon-hole.

After all, its passage would cost a great deal of money and cut into profits. And that is a cardinal sin.

iLa Raza en Acción!

Miguel Pendas



Los Tres for changing society

Los Tres del Barrio, three young Chicano antidrug activists, have been behind bars since 1971. As I explained last week, they shot a federal agent posing as a heroin dealer when he pulled a gun on them.

Two spokesmen for the Committee to Free Los Tres, Ray Rolón and the group's attorney Antonio Rodríguez, addressed the March 23 Militant Labor Forum in Los Angeles and explained why the three worked to end narcotics traffic in the barrio.

They explained the costly social, as well as physical, effect that drugs have on Chicanos. This is one reason authorities allow the traffic to exist. Drugs promote a selfish mentality. The user tries to ease the pain of the oppression of Chicanos by escaping from it as an individual. Los Tres wanted to see Chicanos fighting to change society as part of the world revolutionary struggle, not sticking a needle in their arm out of despair.

Los Tres were part of a community effort, said Rolón and Rodríguez. They were active at La Casa de Carnalismo (House of Brotherhood), an organization that has been conducting a program to drive pushers out of the barrio. In addition to drug counseling, they have provided services to the community concerning immigration, welfare, and self-defense.

Involvement in these activities was the real reason Los Tres were set up for entrapment. Federal agents had infiltrated Casa Carnalismo and wanted to "get" some of the most active members.

During the trial, the prosecutor made the fantastic charge that Los Tres were driving pushers out of the community not to end the harmful drug traffic

but rather to corner the market for themselves! I guess he figured that the bigger the lie, the easier he can get people to believe it.

However, apparently feeling the "big lie" wasn't enough, the authorities used other means as well to ensure the desired "guilty" verdict. The court appointed the attorneys for the defendants. The jury of "peers" consisted of 10 whites, one Black, and one elderly Chicano.

The judge refused to permit numerous key witnesses for the defense to take the stand, including Frank Martínez. Martínez is the notorious federal agent who had infiltrated the Chicano Moratorium Committee and Casa Carnalismo, but later claimed to have repented his role and blew his cover to the news media.

Police searched people as they entered the courtroom in order to create the impression that the defendants were dangerous. One defense investigator was threatened with prosecution. FBI agents did their part outside of court by intimidating members of the defense committee.

This, briefly, is the story of Los Tres del Barrio as told by their defenders — the story they never got the chance to tell in court. The defense is now seeking a reduction of the \$50,000 bail on which they are being held and to win a new trial.

The defense urges letters supporting these demands be sent to: Ninth Circuit U.S. Court of Appeals, Seventh and Mission streets, San Francisco, Calif. For more information contact: Committee to Free Los Tres, 4400 S. Huntington Dr., Los Angeles, Calif. 90032. Telephone: (213) 223-3471.

The Great Society

Harry Ring



A nice little puppet—After the State Department dinner for Thieu, Chief Justice Burger told reporters, "This fellow doesn't look as bloodthirsty and murderous as I've read about him." Perhaps equally apropos, he added that Thieu seemed shorter than he expected.

Clearly noninflationary—Henry Ford II was paid a record \$874,567 last year, up 26.9 percent from 1971. A company representative assured this complies with federal guidelines.

Fun City—No one knows how many New Yorkers die waiting for emergency ambulance service. Now the service will take a bit longer. Emergency calls will be screened. If the dispatcher has a question, the caller will be transferred to a registered nurse for a more detailed discussion. And the nurse checks with the public health director,

who's on vacation in the Bahamas, right?

Golden Guru—The Illinois House of Representatives was addressed by the Maharishi Mahesh Yogi after it approved a resolution encouraging schools and mental institutions to teach transcendental meditation (TM), the Maharishi's technique of mind relaxation. The resolution was introduced by Representative W.J. (Bingo Bill) Murphy, who feels TM can help reduce student unrest and drug addiction. He and his sons are signed up in private TM classes at \$75 a head. The Maharishi owns a private plane and a \$26,500 custom-built Bentley. Relaxes his mind.

News of the week—The executive vice-president of Continental Oil said the nation's energy crisis is the result of "a lack of sound overall planning."

Jesus \$aves—At a Billy Graham rally in South Africa a collection was taken for victims of an Indian market fire and for an alleged deficit on the rally. The crowd gave \$14,000. Of this a fast \$130 went to the relief fund.

Our free world ally—Decrees by the South Korean dictatorship will help perpetuate the inalienable rights of free individuals. Printed invitations to weddings and serving food or liquor at weddings or funerals outside the home

are now offenses punishable by fine. Jail awaits those with long hair, hot pants, or see-through dresses. Ditto for anyone caught secretly teaching dancing. The latter may not be a problem since there isn't too much to dance about.

Thought for the week—"In a war like this some side effects are expected. So we consider it a side effect when bombs hit innocent civilians."—A Cambodian official on the U.S. bombing of villages there.



Women In Revolt

A woman who hates women

A recent contribution to antifeminist literature is a book titled *The Manipulated Man* by Esther Vilar. Vilar is a German writer, a physician, and a woman who hates women. *The Manipulated Man* is the kind of book that you would normally dismiss as the product of an irrational, distorted mind. But one-half million copies have been sold in Germany, and it has been translated into 21 different languages. The major newspapers have paid considerable attention to it, and the author will soon be on a U.S. speaking tour.

Vilar's basic thesis is that men, who are "strong, intelligent, and imaginative," are totally dominated by women, who are "weak, unimaginative and stupid." This exploitation of the strong by the weak is understandable, we are told, because only truly intelligent people (i.e., men) "hate" freedom and take a "pleasure in non-freedom." Only stupid people (i.e., women) "like" freedom. After establishing this inanity as a premise, Vilar goes on to explain the mechanisms of the female manipulation of man.

Women, Vilar asserts, connivingly arrange to be the ones to raise children, and then train their

sons for only one purpose—to work and put the fruits of his labor at her disposal. She engenders in him a series of conditioned reflexes, "not unlike the way Pavlov conditioned his dogs," which cause him to produce everything to satisfy her material needs. Consequently, by the time his education is complete, man will judge his own value only by woman's estimation of his usefulness. (Some accomplishment for "stupid, unimaginative" creatures!)

The book is not serious. The few "facts" Vilar uses to back up her irrationality are topsy-turvy. For instance, "a woman is a human being who does not work" (40 percent of the U.S. labor force are women); "the number of working women has constantly decreased over the last decade" (there was a 36 percent increase in the number of working women in the U.S. between 1960 and 1970); woman is addicted to pleasure, which is "baking cakes, ironing the laundry, cleaning windows. . . ."

But the real giveaway is the pure hatred for women that exudes from every single page of the book. Listen to this: "It is quite incredible that

men . . . are incapable of seeing women as they really are: with nothing else to offer but a vagina, two breasts, and some punch cards programmed with idle, stereotyped chatter; that they are nothing more than conglomerations of matter, lumps of stuffed human skin pretending to be thinking human beings."

If Esther Vilar had attempted to offer a solution to this terrible oppression of men by women, then at least we might have seen a reason for the book. But she doesn't even do that. In fact, she thinks the situation is hopeless. "Only woman can break the vicious circle of man's manipulation and exploitation—but she will not do it. . . . And man, that wonderful dreamer, will never awaken from his dream."

Esther Vilar apparently figured out that she could make a fast buck by launching an attack—no matter how crude—on the women's liberation struggle. There seems to be no other rational basis for the book.

Regardless of its intent, however, the book plays a devious role by feeding the right-wing myth that the struggle against oppression is just a battle of the sexes and that women already "have it made."

Linda Jenness



By Any Means Necessary

The South African Games

In last week's *Militant* in an article on the plans for African Liberation Day, I pointed out a token gesture of the South African government in connection with the recently held South African Games in Pretoria. I reported that the South African government, in attempting to show the world that it is "humane," went so far as to take down the signs over the seats in the athletic stadium that read "whites only" and "nonwhites only."

But it turns out that even this "token" wouldn't buy a ride on the New York subway.

Stan Wright, the Black chairman of the men's track and field committee of the Amateur Athletic Union (AAU), spoke with the *New York Times* in response to controversy generated over a full-page ad in its April 15 issue.

The ad was placed by a South African group called the Committee for Fairness in Sport and was entitled "Who is Discriminating Now?" It accused the AAU of "discrimination" because the AAU refused to permit U.S. track and field athletes to participate in the Games.

Wright blasted South Africa's lies and distortions about the event.

As it turns out, although the South Africans

took down the signs for segregated seating in the sports stadium, Blacks were still herded into "the section for the Bantus or blacks," according to Wright. "That's the hypocrisy of it. I'm a black guy, plus I'm a V.I.P. from another nation, so I get treated differently. But the black who's a native of that country exists under the apartheid rule. He couldn't buy a ticket to sit where he wanted by choice."

The South African government went on a major public relations campaign for the Games, which the South African press hailed as an "overwhelming success" because of the presence of Blacks and whites on the same playing field for the first time.

An editorial in the April 9 Johannesburg *Star* showed that some circles were struck breathless by the "progress." "Getting used to multiracial sport is a little like breaking the four-minute mile, or taking a cold plunge on a winter's day. The first time is the hardest; then it becomes easier and even commonplace. So it should be after the successful breakthrough we have just witnessed."

The South African ad in the *Times* picked up on this distortion, " . . . the Pretoria event represented international competition strictly on merit

—regardless of race, color, creed or religion."

Wright, however, shot holes through this facade. He stated that none of the athletes chosen to represent South Africa in track and field and many other sports was selected through an "open championship based on merit." He noted that a soccer tournament pitting a white team against Blacks or Indians against coloreds (mulattoes) was billed as "multiracial." "To me, it wasn't," he said. "To me it was a farce because how can you have four teams representing your country? The teams were not selected on merit. It was based on a choice related to color."

Wright stated that the 12 Black South African track and field athletes all came from the Black track and field federation. There are three others, white, Indian, and colored—all are controlled by the white federation.

South Africa claims to have spent about \$1.3-million on the Games. It's unknown how much more was spent on public relations. Of course the money to pay for this folly will be squeezed from the taxes of Black workers.

As usual, the cost of racism is quite high, especially for the victims.

Baxter Smith



'The government had better heed our demands'

SF labor rally to hit wage controls, prices

By CAROL LIPMAN

SAN FRANCISCO, April 23—More than 200 trade unionists here packed into the hall of Department Store Employees Local 1100, AFL-CIO, April 21 to participate in a spirited meeting of the United Labor Action Committee (ULAC).

ULAC is the official committee building the April 28 mass rally to protest high prices, wage controls, unemployment, unequal taxes that favor the rich, and the billion-dollar cutbacks in health and social-service programs. The rally will begin at the Civic Center at 12 noon April 28.

Sponsors of the rally include every Bay Area AFL-CIO central labor council and their union affiliates; the building-trades unions; International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU); United Auto Workers; Teamsters; and others.

Jim Herman, cochairman of ULAC and president of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union Local 34, opened the meeting, stating the rally's objectives to the

outlined plans of the program committee for speakers at the demonstration. Already accepted are: Harry Bridges, president of the ILWU; Jerry Wurf, international president of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; Maddie Jackson, business manager, San Francisco Joint Board of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union; Joe O'Sullivan, San Francisco Building and Construction Trades Council; Stan Jensen, International Association of Machinists (IAM) Local 68; George Hardy, president of the Service Employees International Union; and Jerry Voorhis, consumer advocate.

'Never such a response'

Emerson Street, secretary-treasurer of the Santa Clara Labor Council, and Sid Roger, former editor of the *ILWU Dispatcher*, reported from the publicity committee.

"In all my years of experience in the labor movement," stated Roger, "I have never seen such a response to



Militant/Howard Petrick

Jim Herman, president of Int'l Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, Local 34, addresses planning meeting for April 28 march in San Francisco. Betsy Blom, shop steward for Department Store Employees, Local 1100, and Walter Johnson, Local 1100 secretary-treasurer, are on either side.

of the White House. We also need physical support. All our rallies will be peaceful and well organized. Everyone is urged to attend."

Several locals of the Transport Workers took thousands of leaflets for the demonstration. They plan to give them directly to bus and transit employees to distribute and carry on the job.

The Carpenters Joint Council took 24,000 leaflets.

Membership meetings on April 19 of ILWU Locals 10 and 34 unanimously voted a work stoppage on the docks the day of the rally.

Jeff Mackler, vice-president of the Hayward Federation of Teachers, reported to the meeting the extensive plans of AFT locals in the Northern California area to build the demonstration. He challenged all unions present to bring as many members to the rally as the AFT locals will.

The San Francisco Teachers Union has sent a copy of the rally leaflet to all its members, urging them to attend. In addition to the Teachers union, three unions representing non-teaching employees in the school system signed the leaflet.

Many union militants report that discussion of the April 28 action has been taking place on the floor of their local meetings.

Participants in the ULAC meeting agreed to join an informational picket line April 25 at the Hunters Point shipyards, one of the government installations scheduled to be shut down by a recent Nixon decree. Some 6,700 workers will lose their jobs. International Association of Machinists Local 68, whose members are affected by the decree, initiated the protest.

Protesters will carry signs demanding that the site be kept open and that the workers and machines be turned to domestic needs, such as housing and schools. Demonstrators will pass out leaflets for the April 28 action to workers entering the shipyard.

Representatives of San Francisco Consumer Action, the Northern California Peace Action Coalition, and campus support groups attended the meeting at the invitation of the ULAC cochairmen.

The Consumer Action representative outlined plans to support the April 28 rally and also presented plans for a demonstration against high prices on May 5 at 12 noon in San Francisco's Union Square. The May 5 demonstration here is part of the national price protests on that day.

Jim Herman stated at the end of the ULAC meeting: "We want and need the support of the entire community. We thank the leaders of the Northern California Peace Action Coalition for their financial assistance and support by helping to organize the community support group for the April 28 demonstration."

The meeting drew many different trade unionists—official leaders of the central labor councils of the Bay Area, officials of many of the important local unions, and many rank-and-file activists. All present were able to participate in the meeting. ULAC is not the official body of any union, but is an ad hoc formation initiated by individual unionists with the backing of their locals, particularly the Department Store Employees Local 1100 and ILWU Local 34.

Many of the initiators of ULAC were among those who played an outspoken role in the movement against the Vietnam war in the Bay Area. Many of the unions in ULAC have supported antiwar protests in the past, particularly the massive April 24, 1971, demonstration sponsored by the Northern California Peace Action Coalition (NCPAC).

In the spirit of Herman's opening remarks, the ULAC gathering decided to hold another meeting May 5 to evaluate the April 28 demonstration and to see what the next step will be.



Militant/Howard Petrick

Rank-and-file trade unionists, union officials, antiwar, consumer, and student activists participated in planning meeting for April 28 protest.

press. He said in part:

"This organization was formed as a result of a call of over 100 union officials who understand and are responding to the deep feelings of their rank and file on these important social questions.

"We recognize that present government policies feed the insatiable greed of business interests with the highest prices in history, while taking away wage increases won by labor, denying needed child-care facilities for working mothers, jobs, and important social services. We recognize that we have to put our feelings into the streets.

"This is not just a demonstration, a speakout," he continued. "But [it] is an ongoing demonstration and we are an ongoing organization. . . .

'Not a roman candle'

"We are demonstrating with and for the entire community. This committee is not just a roman candle to burn on one day but will continue until this administration responds to our needs as workers, as welfare recipients, as senior citizens, and yes, as youth.

"This demonstration is the opening gun of a declaration. The unity established by trade unions in the Bay Area will hopefully spur others . . . who are sick, tired, and fed up with the policies of this administration and what is happening in our country.

"It is a declaration," he ended to the applause of the entire body, "to the government that they had better stop and heed our demands, or we will make even stronger declarations that they won't be pleased with."

Dick Groulx, secretary-treasurer of the Alameda Central Labor Council,

a political action. Over 200,000 leaflets are already out in a matter of three days to the union locals, and tens of thousands more are being distributed by various community groups. Students at the Berkeley campus have organized a big support committee and are already out distributing some 20,000 leaflets throughout Berkeley today."

The Department Store Employees Local 1100 office has become an organizing center for the distribution of leaflets. The subcommittee organizing this distribution, composed of Preston Sallinger, a Black longshoreman, Betsy Blom, a shop steward for Local 1100, Derrell Myers of Painters Local 4, and Bob Sancedo, a Chicano shop steward for Bookbinders Local 3, report a very enthusiastic response from the unions.

Local 9410 of the Communications Workers of America sent out a communication for posting on all bulletin boards and at job sites, stating that "United Labor Action Committee is comprised of longtime, responsible leaders. These leaders have come together under one flag, regardless of individual differences, because they recognize the threat to organized labor from the president's 'game plan.'"

"What is the threat? The threat is that if the present administration had its way, it would tear up every collective bargaining agreement in existence today. We cannot let this happen. For 50 years men and women have worked to make collective bargaining agreement what it is today. The sad fact of the matter is that some have even died for it.

"The ULAC needs funds to bring this campaign right up to the steps

NPAC builds support for April 28, May 5 protests

The following telegram was sent to the United Labor Action Committee by Abe Bloom, national coordinator of the National Peace Action Coalition:

Brothers and Sisters,

On behalf of the National Peace Action Coalition we are pleased to express our solidarity and support for the April 28 protest against high prices and wage controls. . . . Nixon's continued bombing of the people of Southeast Asia is financed out of the pockets of the American working people against their wishes.

We applaud you in the trade-union movement who are taking the lead in protesting the effects of this policy. We demand of Nixon: End Inflationary Military Spending! End the Bombing of Southeast Asia! U. S. Out of Southeast Asia Now!

The April 21 National Coordinating Committee meeting of NPAC approved sending this message and also urged local NPAC affiliates to actively build support for the May 5 protests against high prices, relating inflation to U. S. war spending in Southeast Asia.

Unions, consumers, antiwar groups join forces for May 5 protests on high prices

By CINDY JAQUITH

APRIL 23—"Get your friends, your neighbors, your union, whatever organization you're in, behind this thing. This has got to be a growing movement!" That's how Linda McGregor, president of the Women's Auxiliary of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union Local 4-367 summed up the way to build the May 5 demonstrations against high prices.

The call for May 5 protests, issued by the National Consumers Congress, is less than two weeks old, but actions are already under way in more than a dozen cities. Ad hoc coalitions to build the protests are approaching trade unions; consumer groups; antiwar coalitions; student governments; organizations in the Black, Chicano, and Puerto Rican communities; women's groups; and others to win their support and active involvement.

Several trade unions have offered their facilities to help build the demonstrations. In Washington, D.C., the Washington Teachers Union office is an organizing center for the May 5 action, and its president, Bill Simons, is a coordinator of the protest.

The Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen, Local 593, has also volunteered resources to help publicize the action, is helping to get endorsements from other unions and from members of Congress, and is arranging for the printing of some of the May 5 leaflets. The Washington, D.C., protest will begin with a picket line at the White House at 12 noon, followed by a rally at 1 p.m. at Lafayette Park.

In New York, District 65 of the Distributive Workers of America, and District 37 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) have offered to pass out leaflets for the May 5 action. Victor Gotbaum, president of District 37, and Al Evanoff, vice-president of District 65, are scheduled to appear at a news conference this week to publicize the New York action on May 5. The National Peace Action Coalition is also helping to build the march.

Organizers of the New York protest are working out of the AFSCME Public Employees Local 1930 office. Demonstrators will assemble at 12 noon at Herald Square, march to the A&P offices at 43 Street and Lexington Avenue, and then hold a rally at Bryant Park.

Local 2000 of the American Federation of Teachers at Wayne County Community College in Detroit has turned its offices into an organizing center for the May 5 protest. The union's vice-president, Paula Reimers,

and Tom Turner, president of the Metropolitan AFL-CIO in Detroit, are co-coordinators of the demonstration. Turner endorsed the action at an April 18 meeting of the Metropolitan AFL-CIO and urged the representatives of affiliated unions to do the same.

The Detroit action will begin with a noon demonstration at Kennedy Square, followed by a march to the federal building.

In addition to union support, the Detroit demonstration has been endorsed by the Wayne State University student government, which has also voted to turn over its office, phones, paper and other supplies to May 5 organizers.

Two national officers of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters, International Vice-president Abe Feinglass, and Sec-



'The collateral is OK, Mr. Smith—but are you sure your family needs a six-pound roast of beef?'

retary-treasurer Pat Gorman have added their names to the growing list of trade unionists endorsing the actions.

In Houston, a planning meeting for May 5 decided to pass a resolution in support of a strike by the Meat Cutters there against Weingarten's, the city's largest grocery chain. Explaining the issues in the strike to the meeting, Joe Reyna, vice-president of Local 408 of the Meat Cutters, said, "The companies say we are the cause of inflation. We are not."

Reyna continued, "We cut the meat, we process it, we sell it with a smile. But we wish we could afford to take some of it home with us."

A statement in support of May 5 by three officers of Airlines Employees Association, Local 62 B in Chicago expressed the importance of broad-

based actions to fight the erosion of workers' standard of living. "Skyrocketing prices have made united action necessary by those who have to foot the bill. . . .

"Workers whose wages are for all practical purposes still frozen must join with other consumers in peaceful protest of the government's failure to do anything about high food prices," the statement said in part. It was signed by the union secretary, Osceola E. Saffold, the vice-secretary, Terry Quilico, and the assistant secretary, John Jordan.

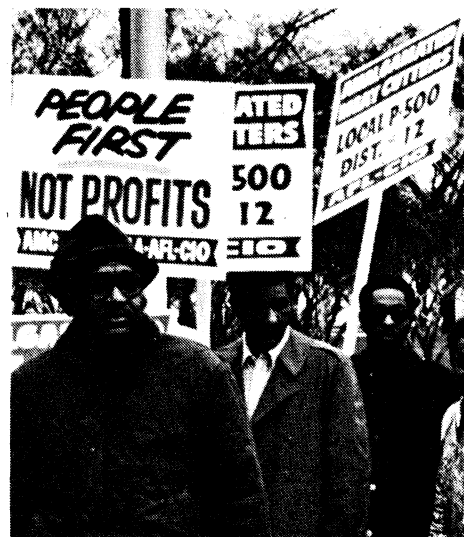
The Chicago demonstration on May 5 will assemble at the federal building at 12 noon.

Local affiliates of the National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC) and the Student Mobilization Committee (SMC) are joining in the protests. In Washington, D.C., for example, the NPAC affiliate and the SMC are preparing a May 5 leaflet that links inflation to war spending.

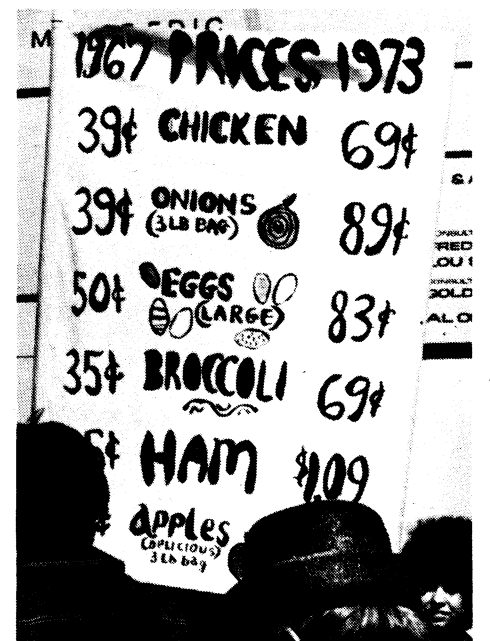
Consumer groups and activists backing the protests include Ruth Yannata, west side chairwoman, Los Angeles FIT (Fight Inflation Together); the Seattle FIT chapter; SCRIMP in Boston; Florence Rice of the Harlem Consumer's Council in New York; and Housewives Against Inflation in Washougal, Wash.

The National Organization for Women (NOW) chapters in Detroit and Houston have sent representatives to May 5 planning meetings. In Detroit the Wayne State University Women's Liberation is building support for the action, as is the Coalition for Child Care in Portland, Ore.

Other organizations and individuals who have endorsed the May 5 protests



Militant/Terry Quilico Meat Cutters union members on April 4 Chicago anti-cutback march. In several cities locals of the union are backing May 5 protests against high prices.



Since this demonstration against high prices in New York, April 7, onion prices alone have jumped to 49 cents a pound.

are the Socialist Workers Party; the Young Socialist Alliance; Tyree Scott of the United Construction Workers in Seattle, an organization of Black workers; State Representative Linda Berglund of Minnesota; State Representative Barney Frank of Massachusetts; Lionel Castillo, Houston city controller; Art Perlo, Portland Communist Party; and Jettie Wilds, chairman of the Oregon Black Caucus.

May 5 demonstrations are also planned in Los Angeles, Denver, San Francisco, Atlanta, Cleveland, Austin, St. Paul, San Diego, and Philadelphia.

Activists at many planning meetings have discussed the need for large, visible protests as the most effective tactic. "I don't know where the Shell strike would be without demonstrations," explained Linda McGregor during the Houston planning meeting for May 5. "Demonstrations bring the issue to the public. Everyone has been complaining to themselves about food prices. But before the meat boycott they didn't know they had so many people on their side."

At the New York planning meeting for May 5, Sharon Enea from Westchester Against Inflation Now said, "We have to hit hard and not relent. This is the way to let the politicians and the congressmen know that we're here."

A Jackson Heights Consumer Committee member added, "May 5 should be the beginning so that others who were not active can become active. May 5 puts forward that we will be continuing to put pressure on the government."

...socialist program to fight inflation

Continued from page 1
runaway prices.

- Halt all war spending. Dismantle all U.S. military bases around the world.

End unemployment

Despite record-high profits and a full-fledged capitalist boom, official government figures still show 5 percent of the work force unemployed. The true figures are undoubtedly much higher.

- Shorten the workweek with no reduction in pay to spread the available work to all who want jobs.

- Initiate a massive federally funded public works program to provide jobs and construct schools, housing, hospitals, and other urgently needed projects.

- For preferential hiring of Blacks and other oppressed nationalities, and women, to help overcome years of discrimination in hiring.

End unfair taxes

- Abolish all taxes on incomes under \$15,000 a year. A 100 percent tax on all incomes over \$30,000 a year.

Stop the cutbacks

- Instead of spending billions for war, use federal funds for social needs, including education, child care, mass transit systems, and quality low-cost public housing.

Defend union movement

- Withdraw the labor representa-

tives from Nixon's "Labor-Management Advisory Committee." This committee is only window dressing designed to give government decrees the appearance of impartiality. It lends credence to Nixon's claim that the government will control prices, when its sole aim is to hold down wages.

- Defend the right to strike for all workers, including government employees.

- Labor needs its own political party to fight for these demands in the political field against the capitalist Democratic and Republican parties. A labor party, based on the unions, would be a powerful weapon in the fight to defend the standard of living of all working people.

Smash

these chains

Protest

Highest price rises in history!
Wage controls!
Five million unemployed!
Unequal taxes that favor the rich!
\$8 billion cutback in health and social service programs!

MASS RALLY
Noon, Saturday, April 28
Civic Center Plaza, San Francisco

Sponsored by the trade union movement in six Bay Area counties. We invite all Americans to participate with us in this protest demonstration.

Nixon and his supporters... can for reelection with the promise of something for everybody. Here's what they had in mind for you and the American people:

- Unbridled price increases in food, clothing, rent, transportation, medical care, etc. Profits before people!
- Phase Three: While prices and profits rise, your wage increases are curtailed, rolled back, restricted.

Leaflet distributed by United Labor Action Committee in Northern California.

By LARRY SEIGLE

Protests against the squeeze on the standard of living of the American people are being organized for April 28 in San Francisco and for May 5 nationally.

A new impetus to these actions came from the government announcement

prices are fed up with the politicians who have repeatedly failed to stop the galloping inflation. That's why the boycott initiators, and the organizers of the April 28 and May 5 protests, have taken things into their own hands. They have turned to methods of struggle—the boycott, picket lines, mass marches and rallies—that can mobilize the power of

But by standing on the sidelines, the unions set themselves up for Nixon's strategy of pitting consumers against workers, and claiming that the unions don't give a damn about inflation, that they just want higher wages for themselves.

In the early days of the CIO, in the latter half of the 1930s, the labor movement viewed itself—and was seen

sumer and anti-inflation movement.

The current protests against inflation can become powerful backing for union demands for cost-of-living escalator clauses. Demonstrations like those on April 28 and May 5 can be an expression of militancy and determination that will serve notice on the bosses that the unions won't settle for contracts that don't protect workers against inflation.

Democrats and Republicans

We can't look to the Democrats or Republicans to solve the problem of inflation. These politicians are committed to defending the interests of the capitalists, not of the labor movement.

On April 16, the House of Representatives voted to renew the Economic Stabilization Act, giving Nixon a free hand to continue wage controls. Enough Democrats blocked with the Republicans to vote down a series of amendments to roll back prices. The Senate had already voted, with only two nay votes, to authorize continued controls on wages.

The Chamber of Commerce lobby and other direct representatives of big business lined up these votes to renew the Economic Stabilization Act in both houses of Congress. As an April 18 *New York Times* editorial observed, "spokesmen for cattlemen, farmers and business easily outpointed those for organized labor and consumer groups. . . . the legislators demonstrated all the firmness of a wet noodle in facing up to these pressures."

The workers will get the short end of the stick every time if they rely on these politicians. What is needed is an independent party of labor, based on the trade unions, to fight in the political arena to protect the standard of living of working people and to champion workers' interests against the capitalist Democratic and Republican parties.

But instead of leading the fight against the government's wage control policies, George Meany and other top union officials are making deals with Nixon. According to the March 29 *New York Times*, "Mr. Meany acknowledged for the first time that he had agreed privately with the Administration that its 5.5 percent wage guideline 'would remain temporarily, but that it would be flexible.'"

Nixon's strategy is to try to convince the unions to accept the 5.5 per cent formula, while granting even less to unorganized workers, and cutting back on social services. This plan hits Blacks and other oppressed nationalities the hardest. By agreeing to it, Meany is hurting the struggle of all workers, including those in the powerful unions. Five and a half percent is not enough to catch up with current inflation, let alone make any progress toward a better life.

And the lower wages paid to non-unionized workers will exert a downward pull on everyone's wages. The constant threat of unemployment also works to hold down wages, even for those in unions. The fight against wage controls and inflation has to be linked to the fight against unemployment. To give everyone a job, the workweek has to be shortened, at no reduction in pay, to spread the available jobs to all who want to work.

Nixon hopes to make it easier to sell his antilabor program by getting union officials to join government agencies. For example, he named Peter Brennan of the New York construction trades as secretary of labor, and he has Meany and other union officials sitting on his phony "Labor-Management Advisory Committee."

The function of union bureaucrats in these government posts is not to protect the interests of workers but to act as window dressing to give Nixon's programs the facade of im-

Continued on page 22

APRIL 28, MAY 5 SET EXAMPLE

UNIONS AND ANTI-INFLATION FIGHT

that in March the cost of living took its biggest jump since 1951, with an increase of 0.8 percent. In New York City, meat, poultry and fish leaped upward by 5.7 per cent in 30 days—an annual rate of 68.4 percent!

The enthusiasm for the protests (see pages 9 and 10) demonstrates that working people are not going to sit by and watch their paychecks be eaten up by inflation.

The April meat boycott and the current protest plans have proved false the forecasts that independent protest actions would be halted with the winding down of the war, and Nixon's hope that the process of radicalization would be halted and reversed.

Skyrocketing prices are exposing the fact that U.S. capitalism, with all its wealth and productive capacity, can't guarantee Americans the quality of life they know is possible and feel they are entitled to. Inflation is a permanent feature of capitalism today.

This is taking place not in a recession, but in a period of capitalist boom. Profits at the end of 1972 set all-time records, and the profits for the first quarter of 1973 are reportedly even higher.

But real wages (taking higher prices and taxes into account) have declined for four of the last five months. Even according to the government's own figures, which don't tell the whole story, spendable earnings of workers went down by 0.3 percent in March alone.

And in spite of the boom, there are 4.4 million unemployed, according to the official figures, which grossly underestimate the real total.

American working people face the specter of permanent inflation constantly eroding their buying power, plus the constant threat of unemployment. These problems are made worse by the government's wage controls, by high taxes on workers, and by Nixon's budget cutbacks.

Lessons of meat boycott

The meat boycott, which sparked the current protests, was organized through ad-hoc committees and spread throughout the country, involving literally tens of millions of people. It was projected first by consumers, mainly women, who played the key organizing role. But workers, both unionists and unorganized, rallied to the boycott banner, making it the largest protest activity, in terms of the number of participants in decades.

The developing movement against inflation has been motivated by a healthy disrespect for the Nixon administration's claims about holding down prices. Tricky Dick's boycott-eve announcement of meat "price ceilings" was obviously just a maneuver to take the steam out of the boycott. But it had the opposite effect as angry boycott leaders refused to fall for Nixon's lies and instead redoubled their efforts.

The protestors against high food

masses of people. These are tactics traditionally used by the working class and its allies; in recent years they have been popularized by the antiwar movement and the Black liberation struggle.

April 28 rally

The decision by the United Labor Action Committee (ULAC) in the San



AFL-CIO President George Meany admits to agreement with Nixon to hold wage hikes to Phase 3 guideline of 5.5 percent. Meanwhile, prices continue to soar.

Francisco Bay Area to organize a mass protest points the way forward for all unions. The response that ULAC has received from union members—as well as from students, antiwar groups, anti-cutback forces and consumer organizations—shows the potential support for decisive action by the union movement in the fight against Nixon's Phase 3.

The ULAC initiative is a welcome change from the attitude of the AFL-CIO leaders like George Meany, who were absent from the meat boycott movement. The failure of Meany and other union officials to provide positive leadership to the movement against high prices made it inevitable that the first expressions of militant action would spring up outside the unions, as happened with the boycott. But the boycotters were not opposed to the unions. In fact they have made every effort to link up with them. In many cities, local unions are cooperating with other groups to organize the May 5 actions.

The union movement on a national scale should be in the front ranks of the defense of the standard of living of all workers. The unions have the biggest stake of all in the anti-inflation fight.

By joining this fight, the unions could add the muscle necessary to make the anti-inflation battle successful. By taking the lead, the unions would gain sympathy and allies among everyone from unorganized workers to middle-class consumers. This would make it difficult for the ruling class to pin the blame on union wage demands.

by others—as a progressive social movement concerned with political and social issues that affected masses of Americans. But the narrow-minded and conservative mentality of the current crop of union misleaders has created barriers between the unions and the masses of unorganized workers and other potential allies. The labor bureaucrats conduct union affairs as

if what the unions do is of no concern to anyone but themselves. They act as though the fight of women, Blacks, students, and others is of no interest to the unions.

This conservative policy has led to the isolation of the union movement from many forces involved in struggles that the workers organizations should be supporting.

The coming round of contract negotiations affect more than five million workers in the rubber, auto, electrical, and trucking industries. These union members need big wage gains, and they need escalator clauses pegged to increases in the cost of living. To win these gains, they will need the sympathy and support of the con-



Food monopolies reaping record profits

By DICK ROBERTS

The 1972 annual report of Iowa Beef Processors dispels any doubt about who's profiting from spiraling meat prices. The giant meat packing firm tells its stockholders: "Your company recorded its best earnings record since 1961, the year the operations began."

"IBP earned \$3.03 per share in 1972 compared with \$1.60 in 1971. Total after tax earnings in 1972 were \$7,367,000; this compares with 1971 earnings of \$3,773,000, an increase of 95 percent."



Based in Dakota City, Neb., Iowa Beef is typical of a relatively new phenomenon in U. S. agriculture: vertical monopolization in food processing.

"Vertical integration has wiped out the neat distinctions that used to exist between cattle raiser, meat packer and

retailer by consolidating many operations under one company roof," James Rowen reported in the June 5, 1972, issue of *The Nation*. "The middlemen—small farmers, cattle feeders, independent truckers, auctioneers, public market employees and small-scale packing operators—are unable to compete with the integrators' corporate advantages of easy financing and cash flows from nonfarm subsidiary businesses. . . . More and more, this vital industry is being dominated by the conglomerates."

Rowen gives examples of conglomerate take-overs in the meat industry. Greyhound purchased Armour in 1970. Its sales increased 301.3 percent, "the record for the entire 500" biggest U. S. industries according to *Fortune* magazine.

L-T-V owns Wilson & Co., a packing firm in Oklahoma that stamps out 150 million hamburgers a year for McDonald's Restaurants.

The Oppenheimer Fund is a major holder of Kroger, the fifth largest retail operation in America and the most heavily integrated supermarket chain in the country. "Kroger owns: 1,500 markets, 430 drugstores, forty family centers (food, drugs and general merchandise), 150 delicatessens, fifteen meat-packing plants, a dairy farm, five milk and ice cream plants, four bakeries, a sausage plant, a trucking fleet, several regional warehouses, and an Arkansas chicken-breeding farm and feed mill operation capable of producing 28 million broilers a year."

All along the line the small farmer is being squeezed out and monopoly is taking over. "The commercial feed lot has appeared within the last decade, vastly altering the face of small-town America. An integrated cattle business virtually demands its own

feed lot to raise its own cattle at the lowest possible cost. Faced with the loss of business, unable to supply themselves with feed as cheaply as the diversified company, the small operators, who fed twenty or thirty cattle at a time, and less than 1,000 a year, have disappeared. . . . One operation, Monfort of Colorado, last year fed more than 425,000 head of cattle, almost 2 per cent of all commercially fattened cattle in the country, making it the nation's biggest cattle-feeding business."

These monopolies are also responsible for the deterioration of meat. "Today, cattle arrive at a feed lot when they are a year old, and often younger. For an average of 150 days, the cattle stand and eat—not grass, but the area's most available grain, plus a number of additives, hormones, tranquilizers and antibiotics, all designed to stimulate appetite. Cattle in feed lots now gain roughly 3 pounds a day from 20 pounds of feed, much of the increase being watery fat, 'marbled' through the meat. The search for cheap feeds by feed-lot owners has led to some bizarre experimentation. According to nutrition author/farmer Beatrice T. Hunter, cattle have been fed such weight-producing additives as peanut hulls, feathers, wood pulp, ground-up newspapers, plastic, and even inedible offal waste from other cattle's carcasses. The goal is to produce the heaviest cattle at the lowest possible cost, and forget the taste."

The monopolies that are driving to take over the food industry are well represented in Washington. Earl Butz, head of the Agriculture Department, is a former director of Ralston Purina, "owner of a totally integrated poultry line and beef supply system that starts

on an Oklahoma ranch and ends in more than 700 Jack in the Box hamburger drive-ins. When Butz resigned his Purina directorship to become Secretary of Agriculture, the outgoing Secretary, Clifford Hardin, conveniently moved to Butz's Purina seat."

Butz was also a director of the canned and frozen fruits and vegetables corporation Stokely Van-Camp, as well as of International Minerals and Chemicals and Standard Life In-



surance Co. When he came to Washington in November 1971 Butz promised to improve profits in the food-raising business. The close ties between the Nixon administration and agribusiness are robbing the pocket-books of each and every shopper in the country.

May Day: international workers holiday

By DAVE FRANKEL

May first is the international holiday of the working class, the day to celebrate the struggle of the workers movement everywhere against the oppression of capitalism. Over the years the U. S. government has done its best to portray May Day as something alien to the U. S., if not downright subversive.

Labor Day in September was declared the workers' holiday to provide a "patriotic" alternative to the militant tradition of May Day. Many presidents have even tried to turn May Day into its opposite. To prevent the celebration of international working-class solidarity, they have dubbed May 1 "Law Day," and "Loyalty Day."

The truth of the matter is that May Day originated in the United States.

The tradition of May Day began in 1886, during the struggle for the eight-hour day. Today workers fighting against inflation are told by union officials like George Meany to rely on the government to solve their problems. But the eight-hour day was won by a different strategy—one of mobilizing the power of the labor movement in the streets.

May 1, 1886, was set aside by the Knights of Labor and other trade-union organizations as a day on which workers would leave work and demonstrate for the eight-hour day. Some 200,000 took part in New York, Chicago, St. Louis, Detroit, Washington, D. C., Baltimore, Boston, Cincinnati, Pittsburgh, and Milwaukee.

In Chicago, where tensions had already been raised by a strike at the McCormick Reaper plant that had been going on for two months, there was a city-wide lockout the next day. On May 3 Chicago police opened fire on workers outside of the McCormick plant, killing four and wounding scores. A mass protest meeting was called for the next day in Haymarket Square.

As the Haymarket meeting was

policemen were dead before the day was over.

On May 5 every prominent labor leader in Chicago was arrested. Eight men, all anarchists, were indicted for murder. The government was unable to link any of the eight with the bombing (one of the defendants, Samuel Fielden, was speaking at the time the bomb was thrown), but it organized a witch-hunt trial that led to the conviction of all of them.



A contingent in a 1903 May Day parade in U. S.

breaking up, it was attacked by police. A dynamite bomb was thrown into the police ranks by an agent provocateur, and the police opened fire on the crowd. Four workers and seven

Oscar Neebe was sentenced to 15 years in prison. Fielden, Michael Schwabb, August Spies, Albert Parsons, Louis Lingg, Adolph Fisher, and George Engel were sentenced to

hang. The sentences of Fielden and Schwabb were commuted to life imprisonment. Lingg committed suicide rather than allow the state to take his life. The others were hanged Nov. 11, 1887.

Before he was hanged, August Spies turned to the executioner and said: "The time will come when our silence will be more powerful than the voices you strangle today."

The celebration of May Day passed into the tradition of the world working-class movement when the first congress of the Socialist (Second) International proclaimed it a day of international solidarity in 1890. Here in the U. S., the country of its origin, the celebration of May Day has been neglected, along with a lot of other good things.

But as a new generation finds it necessary once again to struggle against the evils of capitalism, the traditions and history of previous struggles are being revived. This has been shown by the fight against the war, the movements of Blacks, Chicanos, and Puerto Ricans against racial oppression, and the struggle of women against their second-class status in this society.

Workers today, confronted with outrageous price hikes and government wage controls, can learn a lot from the traditions of the working class represented by May Day. It is only through militant struggle of the entire working class and its allies against the class of the bosses that real gains can be made.

World Outlook

A WEEKLY INTERNATIONAL SUPPLEMENT TO THE MILITANT BASED ON SELECTIONS FROM INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS,
A NEWSMAGAZINE REFLECTING THE VIEWPOINT OF REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISM.

MAY 4, 1973

Biggest actions since May 1968 continue in France

Chanting "It's been five years, but here we are again!" about 100,000 persons — students, high-schoolers, technical-school students, and workers — stepped off from Paris's Place de la Nation April 9 for the third "national day of action" against the regime's attempts to "rationalize" its army and educational system.

The demonstration demanded that the government reestablish student draft deferments that were abolished by the "Debré law" and the extension of the right of deferment to all youth. It also called for the repeal of the decrees establishing the DEUG (Diplômes d'Etudes Universitaires Générales—General University Studies Diplomas), new certificates issued after two years of study and designed to churn out semitrained labor for the French capitalist class.

Student protests against the Debré law and the decrees setting up the DEUG had mobilized hundreds of thousands during the previous three weeks. But the April 9 demonstration marked the first time large numbers of workers turned out. The demonstration was supported by the strike committees that have been leading the high-school and student actions, as well as by the CGT (Confédération Générale du Travail—General Con-

federation of Labor, the country's largest trade-union federation, led by the Communist party), the CFDT (Confédération Française Démocratique du Travail—French Democratic Confederation of Labor, the Socialist-party-led union federation), the FEN (Fédération de l'Education Nationale—National Education Federation, a major teachers union), and other trade unions.

The route and demands of the demonstration were decided in a series of negotiation meetings between representatives of the unions and the student coordinating committees.

This in itself marked a victory for the movement. It was the first time that the Stalinist trade-union leadership was compelled to recognize the independent student committees (many of them led by members of the Ligue Communiste, French section of the Fourth International) as authoritative bodies representing large numbers of militant activists.

The unity in action achieved at the negotiating meetings was reflected in the march itself. Strike committees from nearly every high school, technical school, and university in the Paris area mobilized contingents. The CGT brought out dozens of factory contingents from Paris and the suburbs. There were at least two con-

tingents of foreign workers, one of them consisting of North Africans.

The unity in action maintained on the march was especially significant in that it represented a response to the belligerent statements made April 7 by Premier Pierre Messmer. He demanded, less than politely, that the students call off their struggle: "They had better understand that they must restore order. If they don't, we'll damn well make them."

If Messmer expected the youth to be intimidated by this, he was mistaken. "No, Messmer, we will not restore order!" became a slogan of the marchers.

While maintaining unity in action against the government threats, the April 9 demonstration was far from homogeneous politically. The CGT leaders, while forced to cosponsor the march, did not give up their basic orientation: trying to convince the workers and student youth to put their faith in the Union of the Left and its Common Program. "The only solution is popular union" and "The only solution is the Common Program" were the CGT chants; to which the contingents organized by the strike committees responded: "The only solution is revolution" and "To hell with parliament, power is in the streets!"

Demonstrations were held in the

provinces as well as in Paris on April 9. The April 14 issue of the Paris daily *Le Monde* (which underestimated the size of the Paris action) gave the following figures:

Toulouse 10,000; Lyon 4,000-5,000; Montpellier, Strasbourg 4,000; Nantes 3,500; Marseille 3,000; Dijon, Rouen 2,000; Nice, Aix-en-Provence, Bordeaux, Clermont-Ferrand 1,500. In Brest, Poitiers, Limoges, Tours, Le Havre, and Angers actions of about 1,000 took place.

On April 10, the Easter vacation period began. The regime appears to be counting on a week's rest calming the youth down. But the April 9 demonstration indicates that this is not a likely turn of events. The organizers of the action, both the strike committees and the trade unions, have called for a huge demonstration on May 1 as the next target date in the mobilization.

The April 11 *Le Monde* quoted the Ligue Communiste's statement on the coming phase of the struggle: "The Ligue Communiste calls on all the youth to prepare to continue the fight, in alliance with the working class and the young inductees. May 1 must be the next step in this struggle, provided it is organized jointly by all the forces involved, which will be the only guarantee against co-optation." □

French fascists attack student demonstrations

The student demonstrations in France have provoked an increase in activity by fascist goons. *Ordre Nouveau* (New Order) is the principal fascist group. In Poitiers, a small city about 130 miles southeast of Paris, a member of the Ligue Communiste, the French section of the Fourth International, was seriously wounded by the fascists.

In Paris, Bernard Chapuy, another Ligue member, was beaten by a squad of 40 fascist gangsters. At last report, he lies near death. The attack took place April 1 while Chapuy was selling *Rouge*, the newspaper of the Ligue.

The fascists have had the complicity of the police. In Poitiers the police showed up April 2 to club students only after the fascists had ended their attack. At the Assas faculty of the Sorbonne, the Groupe Union Défense (United Defense Group—the legal cover of *Ordre Nouveau*) carried out goon squad attacks for months under the eyes of the university administration.

Recently, the Assas students occupied the administrative offices in the Panthéon. There they found documents showing that the Groupe Union Défense had been storing up gasoline, plastic explosives, and other weapons. The officials had kept these documents secret.

In Strasbourg, a city on the German

border, police attacked 1,000 students occupying the liberal arts school April 3. *Rouge* reports that "forty-five students were wounded, two of them seriously. At 3:00 in the afternoon the following day Charlie Welchinger, an 'independent Trotskyist' candidate in Strasbourg during the elections who had been struck by a grenade shot 'at close range,' came out of his coma. But a second wounded student, whose name has not gotten through the wall of silence erected by the police department, still hovers between life and death. A grenade shot from a range of twenty meters had pierced his chest.

"An accident?" *Rouge* asks, and answers: "Cops who aim at demonstrators with their grenade launchers know very well that the projectile, fired at such a close range, can be just as fatal as a bullet. *The Strasbourg cops wanted to kill!*"

However, these attacks have not gone unanswered. In Strasbourg the trade unions protested the attack and have joined with the students in planning a united response to it. Students in Caen, Rennes, and Montpellier have occupied campus offices in response to the Strasbourg attack.

Elsewhere, the students have organized defense guards to protect themselves from the fascist goons. The April 6 issue of *Rouge* describes one example:

"They wanted to mop up the Latin Quarter. On Tuesday, April 3, the fascists gave it their all; but they utterly failed to come off as the last bastion of Western order against the youth uprising.

"Shouting 'Leftist scum, *Ordre Nouveau* will have your ass!' 300 gangsters assembled at Sèvres-Babylone and made for Duroc. Waiting for them there were 100 antifascists, high-schoolers and students, fed up with the

innumerable provocations the gangsters had committed at the schools and campuses during the current mobilization.

"The charge was violent and impossible to block. The fascist contingent was broken, through and through, all along its length.

"Those among the fascist strong-arms who were not laid out in the gutter were saved only because they were experienced sprinters." □



Fascist goons find discretion the better part of valor

Sees struggle between 'Communism and Trotskyism'

'Le Monde' evaluates French student movement

By Thierry Pfister

[The following article, entitled "The High-School Movement and Politics, A Struggle for Influence Between Communists and Trotskyists," appeared on the front page of the April 8-9 issue of the influential Paris daily *Le Monde*.

[While its author betrays a certain cynical attitude, the article does present a basically accurate account of some of the issues raised by the new upsurge of youth in France. The fact that *Le Monde* views the French Trotskyist movement as strong enough to wage a battle for hegemony against the Stalinists is in itself a significant indication of the changing balance of forces in French politics.

[One inaccuracy in the article is that it tends to give the impression that the French Communist Party has undergone a basic shift in policy. In reality, as the French Trotskyists have pointed out, it has merely made a tactical change. The text of the article is reprinted below. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

The movement that began among the high-schoolers and is now developing among the apprentices of the CET [Collèges d'Enseignement Technique, technical education institutions] and the university students allows us to see to what extent the breadth of political ideas that opened among the youth in 1968 has narrowed. Since that time, only two political forces have been expressing themselves coherently and mobilizing significant numbers of militants: Communism and Trotskyism.

While the former has the advantage of cohesiveness, it also has the handicap of having come on the scene a bit belatedly, so it has had to hitch on to a movement whose control still in part evades it. Certainly, the Communist party is present among the student youth—through the UNEF-Renouveau [Union Nationale des Etu-

pirations through these bodies.

In their struggle against the abolition of deferments, the high-schoolers have thrown up original organizational forms, but it remains no less true that most of the leaders of the coordinating committees are politicized militants. This phenomenon is quite naturally explained by the fact that the political militants are the only ones who know how to set up general assemblies, establish contacts between different schools, and set up strike committees. They know how to express in organizational terms the demands of rank-and-filers who are less highly politicized than they themselves.

The thing that is new, compared with 1968, is that in essence all these militants belong to organizations that are connected, more or less directly, with the current of Trotskyism. While the Ligue Communiste [French section of the Fourth International] holds first place within this current, we must also take note of the presence of members of the Alliance des Jeunes pour le Socialisme [Alliance of Youth for Socialism, of Lambertist persuasion], the Alliance Marxiste Révolutionnaire [Revolutionary Marxist Alliance, a group headed by Michel Pablo], and the communist organization Révolution [a split-off from the Ligue Communiste]. In addition, Lutte Ouvrière, which until now has hardly intervened anywhere but in the factories, has decided to actively participate in the movement that has been touched off in the CET.

The young socialists (whether members of the Socialist party or of the PSU [Parti Socialiste Unifié—United Socialist party]) have been reduced to issuing communiqués. As for the so-called Maoist movements (of the spontanéist variety), after a short-lived attempt to bring out a newspaper, entitled *l'Entonnoir* [The Funnel], they practically disappeared.

The present movement has also exposed the vacuity of the initials UNEF, whether wielded by the CP or by the AJS. [The Stalinists and the Lambertists each maintain separate organizations, both called UNEF. The Stalinist version adds "Renouveau" to the initials.]

The organized political forces participating in the high-school movement tried to maintain an exemplary discretion by not dominating the general assemblies, but the probability of a rapid demobilization led them to more clearly take charge of the general assemblies' operations.

Up to now, the size of the demonstrations has surprised the far-left groups. The approach of the vacation period and the concessions the government suggested it might make on the question of deferments led them to fear that the movement would run out of steam. Right now, they are also worried about relaunching action when the schools open after the vacations. The far-left groups are also concerned about not letting the Communist party "co-opt" the movement, which process it began by calling for the April 9 and May 1 demonstrations.

The policy of the Communist party toward social movements that grow up outside it, whether it be high-schoolers, the OS [ouvriers spécialisés

—semiskilled workers], or the immigrant workers, has undergone a basic change since 1968 and the years immediately following. There is no longer any question of standing apart from struggles that may be "perverted" by the presence of "ultraleftist" elements. Not only has the CP supported such movements, but—in the case of the OS at Renault, for example—

resistance on the part of other far-left formations of a more "spontanéist" persuasion, like Révolution.

An important analytical divergence has especially appeared within the Paris high-school collective, which in practice plays the role of a national collective. This divergence broke out during the preparations for the April 2 demonstrations. The Ligue Commu-



Students and young workers on the march in Paris



CGT head Seguy: forced to go along with youth mobilizations

dians de France—National Union of Students of France (Resurgent)] and UNCAL [Union Nationale des Comités d'Action Lycéens—National Union of High-School Action Committees]; but it has not always succeeded in expressing the youth's as-

it has pressed for effective mobilizations and therefore for broadening social struggles.

This total reversal of strategy has not come off without hitches. Thus, in a few provincial cities, CP leaders, no doubt extending the political committee's new line a bit too far, have gone so far as to sign joint leaflets with the Ligue Communiste, the Trotskyist organization led by Alain Krivine. The leaders of the Ligue, who for a long time have been trying to get "recognized" in this way by the whole official left, are doing their utmost to make gains from this situation. Nevertheless, they are meeting

niste and the Alliance Marxiste Révolutionnaire defended the line that contacts should be made with the workers' trade unions in order to broaden the movement. The communist organization Révolution, on the other hand, judged that this would risk having the movement co-opted. (It is a little artificial to reduce such debates only to the political groups, because high-schoolers who do not belong to any organization also take part in the sessions of the collectives.)

The final vote endorsed the Ligue's point of view, 68 to 60, although, as can be seen, not in an extremely sharp manner. Because they disagreed with

this perspective, the Révolution members walked out of the organizing collective, that is, out of the movement's "executive."

In its concern about resisting any "co-optation" of the movement, Révolution illustrates the "leftist" spirit of the movement. This group proposes setting up action committees, more narrow than the strike committees, that would constitute the embryo of a movement of youth. Nevertheless, the "leftists" know that the high-school scene is more capable of riding with political differences, and that in order to increase its power, it is necessary to bring to bear the weight of the workers.

The political battle now unfolding within the high-school and student committees is only the first passage of arms. In fact, the problem came up again Thursday night [April 5] when the workers' and teachers' trade unions proposed a joint demonstration for Monday, April 9; and it will come up again around May 1.

The CGT [Confédération Générale du Travail—General Confederation of Labor, the country's largest trade-union federation, dominated by the Stalinists] apparently hopes to reestablish the authority of UNEF and UNCAL, which have until now perceptibly trailed behind the development of the situation. The Trotskyists' strength lies basically in their presence in the strike committees. The Communists, for their part, are seeking to present UNEF and UNCAL as a tendency within the movement in which the strike committees would be merely another current.

The CP's hopes can be seen behind this analysis: If tomorrow, because of the vacations, the strike committees fall into dormancy, the only remaining official representatives of the high-schoolers will be the members of UNCAL.

That is why the Parisian student coordinating committee, while agreeing in principle to participate in the

April 9 demonstration proposed by the unions (pending the agreement of the national coordinating committee, which meets Saturday [April 7]), took exception to the fact that the two UNEFs and UNCAL were among the signatories of the call. The strike committees want in this way to reaffirm the independence of the present movement, in which they intend, moreover, to take up certain slogans not being raised right now.

This fear about independence was even more clearly defended by Révolution members who, contrary to the Ligue, refuse to make the strike committees co-organizers of Monday's [April 9] demonstration. They propose instead that a contingent of high-schoolers, students, and CET apprentices be formed to follow behind the trade-union demonstration. This position was once again a minority one, but the debate that has been started over the movement's independence and the forms it must adopt will come up again in the general assemblies that have been convoked in many educational institutions.

The strike committees have one important trump card in their test of strength with the CP. That is that the CFDT [Confédération Française Démocratique du Travail—French Democratic Confederation of Labor, the Socialist-party-led trade-union confederation] indicated during the meetings held to prepare for the April 9 demonstration that it would withdraw if the committees were absent.

Now, one of the basic strengths of the present movement derives from the fact that all the political forces of the left and the far left, and even a number of moderate elements, have attained a fragile and provisional unity. Up to now, priority has been given to the popular success of the movement. But from now on, its political orientation must be concretized. All the forces that have entered the game are now playing their cards one after the other, without the high-schoolers really understanding this. □

hood councils, cooperative associations, etc. This has been facilitated by the existence of many lower officials belonging to the left wing of the SP, the left wing of MAPU [Movimiento de Acción Popular Unitaria—Movement for United Popular Action], or other currents, who have yielded to the pressure of the masses. The most notable case was that of the Almacenes Populares de Agencias Graham [a chain of stores].

For some time, the left wing—the SP left, the left wing of MAPU, the MIR, the Partido Socialista Revolucionario [Revolutionary Socialist party, the Chilean section of the Fourth International]—has been demanding rationing under some kind of popular control. This has been called by various names: "the family market basket," "ration cards," "certificate of residence," etc.

Until recently the CP tenaciously opposed rationing. At present, seeing that the popular efforts for direct distribution are increasing and causing it to lose some of its grass roots support, it is yielding somewhat on this question.

In the field of distribution, and in others, the contradiction between the masses and the system grows more acute every day. Every day it is more difficult for the UP government to maintain an equilibrium. Every day new scarcities occur, and this does not augur well for the balancers. □

...Chile

Continued from page WO4

- The combativity and organization that have been traditional in them since their inception as a result of the fact that the land they are built on had to be taken by force, which required prior organization and facing many clashes with the police. Many of them, such as the "Nueva La Habana" [New Havana] encampment, have kept their block organizations to this day.

- Many of them are led by members of the MIR [Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria—Movement of the Revolutionary Left] or left Socialists.

- Many of them lack any licensed merchants.

For this last reason, direct distribution was "legally" authorized in these settlements. And this practice gradually spread to other areas where there were merchants.

The restrictions placed on the JAP by the government have been counterproductive in some areas, especially in the shantytowns. Instead of stopping the push toward direct distribution, they have led to its being taken over by other bodies, which may be called by various names—neighbor-

World news notes

South African strike wave continues

The South African strike wave that began in Durban last January shows no sign of abating, despite the fact that strikes and union organizing by Black workers is outlawed. In March the government called in troops to break a strike at the Alusaf aluminum plant in Richards Bay by operating the plant. But the aluminum strike was followed by another, this one of Black construction workers.

"Black labor unrest in Johannesburg, South Africa's major industrial region, has accelerated to the rate of one strike a day," reports an Associated Press dispatch in the April 11 *Christian Science Monitor*. AP reported that in the previous month workers had struck bread, milk, and newspaper deliveries, and had begun to close down supermarkets and engineering factories in Johannesburg's suburbs. Bus drivers called off their strike only at the last minute.

Frederick Hunter, writing in the April 20 *Monitor*, reports that "new wage terms are being negotiated almost daily." Black workers have won annual pay increases totaling more than \$100-million. "But even so," writes Hunter, "the recipients represent less than 15 percent of the African work force and, despite the increases, many of these workers will still not earn enough to bring them above the poverty datum line [officially defined as \$100 a month for a family of five]."

The strike wave has been fueled by runaway inflation. The seasonally adjusted annual rate of inflation for the first three months of 1973 was 13 percent. Prices for bread and milk have recently gone up, and the government has just announced increases of as much as 15 percent on the price of corn, a staple in the diet of Blacks in South Africa.

The continuation of this industrial struggle represents a serious problem for the South African regime. Workers taking part in strikes can be banished from the industrial areas to "bantustan" reservations at any time by the government or their employers, or jailed. But the South African regime fears major repression could spark a more political upsurge of Black workers.

Uncle Sam's little helper

Israeli "advisers" are expected to move into South Vietnam soon, according to a report in the December 15 issue of *Ma'ariv* a major Israeli paper. Gil Kessari, *Ma'ariv's* correspondent in Saigon, reports that "a government source in Saigon stressed that South Vietnam's military situation will be requiring aid in the form of military advice now, and will do so more urgently in the future, if the country is to withstand communist subversion and aggression. Saigon will be needing advice on non-conventional defense methods as well as on how to construct self-defense posts in the rural areas."

Immigrant workers strike at Renault

The massive student upsurge taking place in France isn't the only problem facing the Pompidou government. As of April 18 some 40,000 workers, out of the 96,000 employed by France's giant Renault auto company, were on strike or locked out. And Renault is considered a barometer for French industry.

The conflict began with the strike of 373 assembly-line workers in the Boulogne-Billancourt plant southwest of Paris. Three-quarters of these workers were immigrants. The immigrant workers, who make up 14 percent of the French working class, come mainly from Algeria, Spain, Portugal, and Italy. They are discriminated against generally and confined to the most menial and unskilled jobs.

The striking Billancourt workers perform the same set of motions 353 times an hour 43 hours a week. Starting pay is about \$75 a week, and commuting time to the job averages two to three hours. Only 16 of the striking workers had been given the "qualified" status that would enable them to move upward to better jobs.

The Communist Party, which is in the leadership of the General Confederation of Labor, endorsed the strike, fearing that it would be left behind by the ranks if it didn't. Nan Robertson, writing from Paris in the April 4 *New York Times*, reported that "last week Renault management offered the strikers a cent-an-hour raise but refused to give them the higher rank they sought. 'Victory for the Workers!' cried a headline in *L'Humanité*, the Communist newspaper. The unions congratulated themselves, the strikers refused the offer."

Most recently the issue of how much workers will be paid as a result of time lost because of lockouts has been added to the conflict.

Italian fascists burn socialist printshop

On the night of March 28, a fascist gang attacked the Casalotti printshop in Rome, where the books of the Savelli publishing house were printed, as well as *Bandiera Rossa*, the organ of the Gruppi Comunisti Rivoluzionari (Revolutionary Communist Groups, the Italian section of the Fourth International). The presses were jammed, the headline type destroyed, and the stocks of books and pamphlets published by the Italian Trotskyists were burned.

A special issue of *Bandiera Rossa* appeared only two days after the attack. It called for a united demonstration against the fascist terror and issued an appeal for financial support.

Does not augur well for the 'balancers'

Chilean workers organize distribution

By Hugo Blanco

Santiago

Just as in production great and irreconcilable conflicts exist between the private sector and the state sector, in which there are various degrees of workers' participation and control; strong conflicting pulls have also appeared in the field of distribution, where the fundamental antagonism is growing clearer day by day.

On the one hand, there are the capitalists, the various levels of private traders. This sector is fighting for the return of all distribution to private hands, for complete "freedom" of commerce.

On the opposite side is the mass of consumers who every day are fighting more consciously for centralizing distribution under popular control.

In the center, in the slack between these two opposing forces, are the government and the reformists, trying to maintain an equilibrium that is becoming more and more untenable.

As for the immediate causes of the scarcity that exists, we can cite:

1) The imperialist boycott. This began even before Allende took power and since he took office it has assumed serious dimensions. The case of Kennecott Copper (which took legal action to have exports from the nationalized mines seized) and the stopping of shipments of machinery and spare parts are notorious examples.

2) Low agricultural production. The principal cause of this is that in carrying out the agrarian reform the government allowed the landowners to remove their machinery, livestock, seed, etc., from the confiscated area. Added to this is the fact that the big ranchers who still hold their land have no interest in pushing production. Finally, the bureaucracy involved with the agrarian reform is not exactly a stimulus to developing the revolutionary potential of the peasantry.

3) Sabotage by the industrialists. Many cases of this have been exposed by the workers: The bosses don't want to modernize equipment. They don't want to repair machinery. They don't want to buy raw materials or even vital machine parts.

4) Speculation. This has become the most profitable sector of the Chilean economy. Seeing the possibility for doubling their investment overnight, the big capitalists are pouring their funds into this field, and this includes the money the landowners have gotten thanks to the "democratic" agrarian reform.

5) The increased buying power of

the working class. Previously the workers were subjected to strict rationing, since the windows and shelves of the stores were full of goods that they could not buy because of their low wages. Now, as a result of their struggle, their wages are higher.

As for the effects of the scarcity, one is long lines, hundreds of persons in some cases waiting to buy a liter of cooking oil, a kilo of detergent, a pack of cigarettes, a roll of toilet paper, a tube of toothpaste, or something else. Some articles are sold as soon as they are made—sheets, ankle

de Precios—Supply and Price Control Boards], which in theory are supposed to be made up of the local people and merchants in city neighborhoods. The JAP have the task of receiving the goods sent out to each sector by the national distribution agencies and distributing them among the merchants in the area.

The power of these bodies fluctuates depending upon how much pressure is brought to bear on the government and upon the militancy of the population.

Once the JAP were permitted wide



A cache of hoarded goods found at the home of a businessman by a local food distribution committee.

socks, refrigerators, etc.

Another effect is the black market, a vast black market. There is also a lot of hoarding, some of which has been uncovered and some of which has not.

The right is taking advantage of this and waging a big campaign to discredit the government through the press, radio, and television. During the election campaign, it inundated the lines with leaflets.

All this has succeeded in shifting part of the middle class to the right.

The government, which through the Distribuidora Nacional [DINAC—the National Distribution Agency] and other bodies, controls less than half of wholesale trade, has made efforts to rationalize distribution without encroaching on the businessmen. The Communist party argues that any interference with them would mean "losing the support of the middle class."

The government has created the JAP [Juntas de Abastecimiento y Control

power. But, following this, their role was restricted, with many of their functions being handed over to the police at the same time that military officers were being brought into the top posts in the distribution system.

At their height, besides receiving the goods and taking them to the merchants, the JAP maintained supervision over the prices and weighing of products sold over the counter. To a lesser extent, they saw to it that sales were not made to two members of the same family in a row. Once things reached this level, the consumers saw that they were "unpaid employees of the storekeepers," realizing that the merchants were unnecessary.

The shantytowns in the slum belt around Santiago and other cities were in the vanguard of this, as in other aspects. There were many reasons why this happened:

• Their proletarian or semiproletarian composition.

Continued on page WO3

Allende calls workers' demands 'provocations'

The watchword under which the Central Committee of the Chilean Communist party held a plenary session April 1 was: "The people take the offensive: to increase production and develop the national economy." The battle for production, the gathering decided, requires a more intense ideological struggle and the defeat of the "ultraleftist" positions of the MIR (Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria—Movement of the Revolutionary Left), according to a United Press International report in the April 2 issue of the Dominican daily *El Listín Diario*. The MIR, it said, "is a divisive factor within the popular movement and must be firmly combatted."

Two days later, in a radio and television speech, President Salvador Allende warned that it was his government's intention to thwart any attempts to solve the problem of food shortages through direct action: "To claim that the problem can be solved through take-overs of state-owned and private distribution agencies is not only an error, it is a provocation. It is a position that stands in opposition to the government and the popular masses."

On April 4, some 1,800 bus drivers in the state-owned urban transportation company went on strike. The government responded immediately by appointing General Herman Brady as interventor of the company until the strike ends.

Speaking to the press the day after the strike began, Undersecretary of the Interior Daniel Vergara, a Communist, denounced the workers' economic demands as "going absolutely too far" and charged that the strike was part of a concerted attempt throughout the country to provoke confrontations. "The government is ready and willing to go right ahead and repress all these extremist elements," he warned, according to an Associated Press dispatch published in the April 6 issue of *El Listín Diario*.

During the preceding twenty-four hours, Vergara said, police moved to break up a series of demonstrations in Santiago and other cities that were protesting the scarcity of food and other goods. "Vergara said that some 300 squatters from the settlements Nueva Habana, La Hermida, and San Rafael occupied Vicuña Mackenna Avenue, which led to clashes when the Carabineer corps arrived on the scene to disperse them," reported the Buenos Aires daily *La Opinión* April 6.

Five civilians and five carabineers were reported wounded and thirty-eight persons arrested, twenty-four of whom were subsequently released. The AP report in *El Listín Diario* put the number of persons arrested at sixty, all of whom, it said, were identified as members of the MIR. "The demonstrations led by the MIR," it said, "constituted an open challenge to the call for tranquillity made by Allende during his Tuesday speech on radio and television, in which he also announced that a system will be set up to 'rationalize' the distribution of some food products." □



The Coming Confrontation

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From *Intercontinental Press*
By ALLEN MYERS

International Telephone and Telegraph Corporation (ITT) has lost, for the moment, its attempts to have U.S. taxpayers reimburse it for the loss of a subsidiary nationalized by the Chilean government. On April 9, the Overseas Private Investment Corporation (OPIC), a U.S. government agency that insures U.S. private investments in foreign countries, turned down ITT's claim for \$92,600,000.

The OPIC's decision was not unexpected, even though the U.S. government is normally not very reluctant about dishing out public funds—whether as insurance, tax credits, subsidies, or whatever—to big corporations. For one thing, portions of such donations have a way of finally ending up in the coffers of whichever party is in power, ITT's \$400,000 contribution to Nixon's reelection fund being only one example of this tendency. (The strict canons of capitalist morality declare such roundabout procedures more ethical—and less likely to catch public attention—than direct raids on the treasury.)

In the present instance, ITT made the mistake of publicly admitting before a Senate subcommittee that it had offered the CIA \$1,000,000 to help prevent Salvador Allende's election in 1970 or, failing that, to destroy the Chilean economy in the hope of instigating a military coup.

ITT's forthright admission—made after conflicting testimony from company and CIA officials caused subcommittee members to threaten prosecution for perjury—seemingly subjected its claim for compensation to an OPIC rule that prohibits payment if the nationalization was provoked by the company's own actions.

This rule did not cause the corporation's executives to despair completely, however, since it contains an escape clause permitting such provocations if it can be shown that they were in conformity with the policy of the U.S. government. The executives' testimony therefore attempted to show that the CIA or the State Department had ini-

tiated the plot against Allende and that the ITT had merely offered its assistance in a spirit of patriotism and public service.

In this situation, an approval by the OPIC of ITT's claim for compensation would have amounted to an admission that the Nixon administration had conspired to interfere in the Chilean elections. This would have created a political storm in Washington, where it is an article of faith that the U.S. government never intervenes in another country unless asked to do so by the duly constituted, U.S.-appointed local dictatorship.

Interestingly enough, however, OPIC's announcement did not mention ITT's efforts to overthrow Allende as the basis for its decision. Instead, the company was accused of "noncompliance with contractual obligations," which presumably means something to lawyers if not to the public. OPIC President Bradford Mills was quoted as saying, "ITT failed to comply with its obligation under the OPIC contracts to disclose material information to OPIC. In addition, ITT increased OPIC's risk of loss by failing to preserve administrative remedies as required by the contracts, and by failing to protect OPIC's interests as a potential successor to ITT's rights."

ITT immediately announced that it would appeal the decision to a panel of "impartial arbitrators," who have the power to overrule the OPIC's decision. While we would not presume to judge the question of compliance or noncompliance with "contractual obligations," a *Washington Post* reporter has unearthed evidence indicating that ITT would have a better chance of winning its case if the arbitrators were ruling only on whether anti-Allende plots were official U.S. policy.

In the April 6 issue of that paper, Laurence Stern may also have provided a motive for the CIA's alleged refusal of ITT's proffered \$1,000,000: On the basis of its past experience, the spy agency knew that \$1,000,000 was not nearly enough to prevent Allende's



Eduardo Frei, who was backed by the U.S. to the tune of \$20-million in Chile's 1964 elections.

election. In the 1964 Chilean elections, Stern disclosed, the CIA and the State Department had spent \$20,000,000 backing the winning candidate, Eduardo Frei of the Christian Democrats.

Stern's story was "pieced together from the accounts of officials who participated in the actions and policies of that period."

Originally, Stern wrote, U.S. officials were divided over which of Allende's opponents they should back—Frei or the conservative Senator Julio Duran. The definitive choice of Frei was made only after Duran lost a by-election to a Communist candidate. This may have been the last time Chilean voters exercised any influence over the results of the election. Stern wrote:

"U.S. government intervention in Chile in 1964 was blatant and almost obscene," said one strategically placed intelligence officer at the time. "We were shipping people off right and left, mainly State Department but also CIA with all sorts of covers."

Some of the CIA money was funneled through an organization called the International Development Foundation (IDF), which subsidized peasant organizations friendly to Frei.

Another portion of the \$20,000,000 expended went toward the maintenance of the "free press":

"Covert financing was arranged for a newspaper friendly to the political interests of Christian Democrat Frei. The layout was magnificent. The photographs were superb. It was a Madison Avenue product far above the standards of Chilean publications," recalled another State Department veteran of the campaign.

"The State Department maintained a facade of neutrality and proclaimed it from time to time," according to one source who played an important Washington role in inter-American policy at the time of the election.

"Individual officers—an economic counselor or a political counselor—would look for opportunities. And where it was a question of passing money, forming a newspaper or community development program, the operational people would do the work."

"AID found itself suddenly overstaffed, looking around for peasant groups or projects for slum dwellers," he recalled. "Once you established a policy of building support among peasant groups, government workers and trade unions, the strategies fell into place."

New appeal for aid to Argentine prisoners

NEW YORK, April 21—The U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA) announced today an intensified campaign for the release of the more than 500 political prisoners in Argentina.

The Lanusse military dictatorship is supposed to leave office May 25 and turn the power over to an elected government headed by the Peronist Héctor Cámpora. But there is widespread fear that before the military steps down it may stage another massacre of political prisoners. Last August, 16 political prisoners were murdered at the Trelew prison in southern Argentina.

USLA's new campaign of pressure on the Argentine government comes in response to appeals from three Argentine organizations working in defense of political prisoners. The three are the Foro de Buenos Aires por la Vigencia de los Derechos Humanos (Buenos Aires Forum for the Defense of Human Rights), the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (Socialist Workers Party), and the Juventud Peronista (Peronist Youth).

The letter received by USLA from a representative of the Juventud Peronista states in part: "It is imperative that USLA be mobilized with urgency



Argentine military chief Lanusse.

to demand of the Argentine military dictatorship the physical-mental integrity of the political prisoners who are housed in true 'concentration camps,' with only 60 minutes a day of exercise, confined in small individual cells with restricted family visits.

"It is necessary to mobilize without waiting for May 25 and the assumption of power by Cámpora to solve

everything. All types of international solidarity actions are of enormous utility and we must insist on them."

USLA is calling on its supporters in every city of the United States to send an open letter to the newspapers, signed by local prominent figures, detailing the abuse of human and civil rights in Argentina and calling for the release of all political prisoners.

These letters will then be delivered to Argentine authorities here and in Buenos Aires to let them know the breadth of support in the United States for restoring democratic rights in Argentina.

The following are some of the cases that USLA has recently learned about:

Dr. Norberto Rey of the Institute of Medical Investigations in Buenos Aires has been held for a year under an executive order without ever coming to trial. In an ad in the April 7 issue of the Buenos Aires daily *Clarín*, his colleagues report that he has been systematically mistreated.

The new Buenos Aires tabloid *Liberación* reports that mothers who chose to remain with their infants while in prison have to accept a situation in which "the children are condemned to suffer the same inhuman treatment as their mothers. . . ."

Children in Villa Devoto Prison, the article continues, "are permitted only three hours of recreation a week. The rest of the time they are confined with their mothers in individual cells, narrow and unhygienic enclosures which are damp, full of insects and where water even comes in when it rains. They are not allowed to receive milk or other nutritious foods. . . ."

USLA has been waging a campaign for the past year and a half in defense of Argentine political prisoners and has won considerable support. More than 250 prominent individuals in the U.S. have endorsed the effort. Some of the most recent endorsers are Congresswoman Bella Abzug; David Kilian, director of the Paulist Center in Boston; Professor Britta Fischer of Emmanuel College; Gene Guerrero Jr., executive director of the Georgia Civil Liberties Union; and the Reverend Charles Pickett of the General Theological Seminary in New York.

Significant victories have been won in the course of USLA's work. International campaigns helped to free Norma Morello, a rural Catholic school teacher imprisoned and tortured in 1971, and Casiana Ahumada, editor of the respected Buenos Aires monthly *Cristianismo y Revolución*.

Kawaida Towers: Nat'l Black Assembly threatens legal action

By BAXTER SMITH

NEWARK, April 18—A new stage has been reached in the effort to pursue construction on Kawaida Towers in Newark, N.J.

Kawaida Towers is a low-to-middle income housing project sponsored by the Temple of Kawaida, headed by Imam Amiri Baraka. Construction on the 16-story project has been halted for about three weeks because of continued picketing and pressure from white racists who oppose it.

These racists, headed by State Assemblyman Anthony Imperiale, claim "this is no racial thing." One picketer argued, "These are the same people who take the government's money and spit on the flag."

The project is being built in an area of Newark's North Ward that is 90 percent Black and Puerto Rican. Yet these whites claim Kawaida Towers will "bring down our neighborhood."

At a news conference today, members of the National Black Assembly's Kawaida Towers Inquiry announced the preliminary findings of a two-day study they just completed.

The March meeting of the National Black Assembly (NBA) authorized the Inquiry into the Kawaida Towers situation. The news conference and inquiry were presided over by Irv Joyner, chairman of the housing committee of the NBA.

Joyner charged collusion between the contractor, unions, Newark police department, city councilmen, and other government officials as the prime reason for the stalling on the project. He announced that the NBA and the Congressional Black Caucus would investigate the possibility of taking legal action against those responsible "for depriving the Newark Black community and officials of Kawaida Towers of their civil rights."

Joyner also announced that members of the Inquiry would attempt to meet with Newark Mayor Kenneth Gibson to urge him to take every step necessary to allow the immediate construction of the Towers.

Bob Pickett of the National Conference of Black Lawyers announced that Bruno Lucarelli, general contractor for Kawaida Towers (who is bound to the contract by a \$5-million performance bond) is attempting to weasel out on a legal loophole—"frustration of purpose."

Yesterday, Lucarelli filed a request with the New Jersey Housing Financing Agency that would allow him to suspend construction on the project indefinitely. He based his claim on a clause in the building agreement that concerns the contractor's ability to perform work at the project. Lucarelli claims that since the workers won't cross the picket lines, construction cannot proceed.

The white skilled building tradesmen have refused to cross the picket lines. Howard Pryor, a Newark Black electrician, stated in the April 7 Baltimore *Afro-American* that he "volunteered to help build Kawaida Towers and the union refused to refer him out." He added, "black workers are willing to get out there and work but the truckers will not even bring the building materials to the Kawaida site."

Black workers in Atlanta keep up the pressure in Rich's strike

By TONY DUTROW

ATLANTA, April 22—"Don't shop, boycott!" This is the militant chant still echoing through the streets of downtown Atlanta after three weeks of the strike and boycott against Rich's department stores, the largest retail chain in the Southeast.

The strikers are demanding an end to racism on the job, racist hiring and promotional practices, and higher wages. Rich's pays its workers as little as \$1.50 an hour, a pittance that has become even more inadequate with the current rapid inflation.

Mass picket lines have turned the giant downtown store into a deserted building. Many whites have refused to cross the picket lines and few, if any, Blacks have. In addition to picket lines, the strikers have been carrying out daily actions of various types.

On April 18 a mass strike support march left Atlanta University, a group of five predominantly Black colleges, and proceeded to the main entrance of Rich's downtown store. About 200 marchers arrived in time to meet the evening rush hour. A brief rally drew at least 300 more people, mostly Blacks.

The next day Richard Rich, chairman of the board of Rich's department stores, was asked his opinion of the strike. Unaware that a reporter was present, he proceeded to accuse the Reverend Hosea Williams of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, who has been active in helping to organize support for the strike, of being "a drunkard, charlatan, and extortionist."

The workers who dared to walk the picket lines were accused of being Williams's "paid professionals." The only bona fide Rich's workers on the lines, he claimed, were "younger, newer workers" being inflamed and fooled by Williams.

Williams publicly threatened to file a \$2-million libel suit against Richard Rich if he did not agree to the demands of the workers. The same day Rich's public relations officer was on the air making a public apology to "Mr. Williams."

In the meantime, the workers ac-



April 21 strike support demonstration

Militant/Joel Aber

tions continued. An early evening candlelight march April 20 went from Atlanta University to the downtown store. Some 200 marchers circled the store, and in about 15 minutes Rich's security guards locked up for the evening, more than an hour before the scheduled closing time.

On April 21, the last shopping day before Easter, the strikers again held a march and rally at the store. That same day Hosea Williams led picketers into one of Rich's suburban stores. Within an hour no Black people remained within it or crossed the picket line.

This tenacity on the part of the strikers stems from the experiences they have had as Rich's employees. Ernie Brown, a key organizer of the strike/boycott, spoke at a Militant Bookstore Forum April 20 and explained the reason he was abruptly "terminated" from his job.

A Black ex-Marine captain, a Vietnam veteran, and a graduate of Yale, Brown was considered for a position in Rich's personnel department. However, when he began to assign Black workers to jobs on the sole criterion of their qualifications, management sat him down and revealed that he had gone beyond Rich's unstated "quota"

for hiring Blacks.

Long considered a liberal employer, Rich's was one of the first "respectable" firms in the Southeast to hire Blacks in any numbers. This was part of a conscious attempt to cool down racial tensions in Atlanta. But Brown's experience demonstrates the token nature of this "nondiscriminatory" policy.

Since there are no unions at Rich's and in other stores and industries in much of the Southeast, workers have little defense against the lowering of their standard of living in the face of inflation and other pressures. But Atlanta employers apparently think that any defense is too much. They fear that economic concessions on their part will result in workers demanding higher wages where tranquility now reigns.

Richard Rich was at the head of this pack, urging intransigence when Black workers walked out at Sears Roebuck last summer, and at the Mead packaging company last fall. Now his turn has come. Rich's is large enough to hold out for some time, but if the lack of Easter sales was any indication, it's going to cost the chain plenty.

...NCLC

Continued from page 5

secretary of the Young Socialist Alliance. Pulley was speaking at Swarthmore College in Swarthmore, Pa., at the invitation of the Labor Forum, a grouping of radical students and professors.

According to Jean Savage of the Philadelphia SWP, NCLC members dominated the discussion period, yelling out and intimidating other speakers. Stu Rosenblatt, an NCLC leader, threatened Andrew Pulley by saying, "The fate that awaits you is the same fate that awaited Tony Monteiro last week." (Monteiro was one of the targets of the April 11 attack on YWLL members.)

That evening Pulley spoke again at the Philadelphia Socialist Forum held at the University of Pennsylvania. About 18 NCLC members were prevented from entering the meeting by marshals, and had to content themselves with heckling from outside the doors.

On the same evening a group of about 12 NCLC members approached the entrance to the Upper West Side Militant Forum in New York City. They were halted there by marshals who told them that because of the

threats the NCLC had made, they would not be permitted to enter the forum. After about 10 minutes of taunts and attempts to provoke a fight, they finally left.

In Chicago the same evening, a group of NCLC members attempted to enter the Militant Forum, shouting threats, but were kept out. That night vandal attacks were carried out against the joint headquarters of the Militant Forum, SWP, and YSA, as well as against the Modern Bookstore and Guild Bookstore, both of which are associated with the Communist Party.

Chicago YSA organizer Ilona Gersh told *The Militant* that when she arrived for work the next morning, "the elevator and the door to our hall were plastered with copies of *New Solidarity*, and the main door to the hall was covered with slogans in spray paint—swastikas, "Punks of the world unite," "Commies go home," "KKK," as well as obscene and sexist remarks—it looked like something that right-wingers or cops would do."

"We called up the Communist Party," said Gersh, "and found out that the Guild Bookstore and Modern Bookstore had received similar treatment, with copies of *New Solidarity* plastered across their storefronts."

In Chicago, Philadelphia, and New

York City the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance have initiated a statement repudiating the NCLC's hooliganism and asserting the right of all movement organizations to meet and express their ideas. They are urging all movement organizations and individuals to sign it.

In Philadelphia, the statement has been endorsed by many prominent individuals on the Temple University campus, including Cathy Balsley, Ken Campbell, Ivan Cole, A.L. Lazada, Lamont Steptoe, Ahmed Waluilla, and Treasa Walker.



Militant/Howard Petrick

Andrew Pulley, national secretary of the Young Socialist Alliance, has been threatened by NCLC goons.

Farm Workers launch grape boycott, strike

UFW fights treachery by Teamster chiefs

By MIGUEL PENDAS

LOS ANGELES—In an escalating drive to destroy the United Farm Workers Union, 15 table-grape growers in the Coachella Valley signed sweetheart contracts April 15 with Teamsters union officials. The agreements were concluded in secret negotiating sessions behind the backs of the field workers the day after contracts with the UFW expired.

UFW President César Chávez announced April 16 that his union is on strike against growers who have not renewed their contracts with the UFW. The decision to strike was made unanimously by field workers at mass meetings. The union has also called a boycott of table grapes produced by growers holding the phony contracts with the Teamsters.

UFW officials report the walkout has been 90 percent successful. Farm workers are picketing about 40 vineyards with union flags and placards reading, "Huelga!" (strike). More than 100 strikers have been arrested for petty violations.

On April 17, Chávez held a news conference in Washington, D. C., where he charged the Teamsters with taking outright bribes from lettuce growers in 1970 to destroy the UFW. The following day, AFL-CIO President George Meany pledged the full support of the labor federation to the UFW.

Teamster spokesman Al Droubie claims his union represents the majority of farm workers in the Coachella Valley and that soon the Valley will be "100 percent Teamster." To back up this claim, petitions have been produced allegedly signed by thousands of field hands who want to be represented by the Teamsters.

However, there is good reason to

believe that these "petitions" are a total fraud. Many workers have reported to the UFW that foremen accompany Teamster organizers into the fields and order workers to sign, threatening them with dismissal if they refuse.

An informal poll taken by prominent religious leaders and members of Congress in 31 Coachella Valley fields showed that the UFW and not the Teamsters is the clear choice of the workers.

Monsignor George Higgins of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops and Representative Edward Roybal (D-Calif.) said that 795 workers voted to be represented by the UFW, 80 picked the Teamsters, and 78 were for no union.

These figures make clear why both Teamsters and growers have refused to go along with elections proposed by Chávez in which the field workers could select the union of their choice.

It is well known that the UFW was built by the farm workers themselves and it has a record of fighting for the workers' interests. Its staff is paid only \$5 a week, plus room and board. In contrast to this, the well-heeled raiding operation of the Teamsters puts "organizers" on the road at a \$300 a week salary plus expenses, equipped with shiny suits and sleek new cars, according to Fred Hirsch writing in the Feb. 23 *El Malcriado*, the UFW newspaper.

At many farms, UFW organizers face "No Trespassing" signs, vicious dogs, and armed guards. But, growers allow Teamsters free run of the fields to do their "organizing."

Despite this, the biggest grower in the valley, Lionel Steinberg, conceded that "a substantial number of our workers preferred the UFWU."

The one-year UFW contracts are comparable to the four-year Teamster pacts in terms of wages, bonuses per box picked, medical and unemployment benefits, pension plan and grievance procedure. The significant difference in terms is that under the UFW contract, employers must first go to the union hiring hall for farm hands, thereby eliminating the labor contracting system. The Teamster contracts, however, recognize the labor contractors and perpetuate one of the greatest abuses of farm workers.

One grower explained why the growers sign contracts with the Teamsters with similar terms to those of the UFW. He said, "The trouble is that the UFWU is run by \$5-a-day reformers and they're like a bunch of new cops who want to hand out so many traffic tickets a day to prove their worth."

The Teamsters "don't have these enforcers," he continued, "so naturally

some of us would prefer them to the wild-eyed political activists Chávez has."

Growers have more "confidence" in the Teamsters because they know that their toothless contracts will not be enforced, regardless of the terms.

The Teamster raids in the grape fields are an especially grave threat to the Farm Workers union because the grape workers have been key to union organizing efforts. It took a bitter five-year struggle to organize the vineyards.

The grape strike and boycott initiated in 1965 received worldwide attention as a pioneer effort by agricultural workers in winning basic rights. It also helped spark the development of the broader Chicano movement.

"If we lose here, we lose our identity," said Chávez at a recent union rally. "We're fighting for our lives."



Struggle sharpens in N.Y. school bd. race

By EILEEN WELLS

Dear Friend,

We want to warn you about a very clear and present danger to our community . . . power hungry groups are trying to take control . . . they have already taken over our public schools. . . .

These are excerpts from a letter sent to registered voters in New York City's School District 1 by the so-called Committee for Effective Education. The Committee urges a vote for the nine school board candidates supported by the United Federation of Teachers.

Running for reelection against this slate are eight supporters of community control of the schools. Children in District 1 schools are predominantly Puerto Rican, Black, and Chinese.

The community-control slate is backed by Puerto Rican, Black, and Chinese activists organized in the Coalition for Education.

The letter sent out by the UFT-backed committee argues against support to the present District 1 board members because they hired Luis Fuentes — whom the letter labels a "vicious racist" and "anti-semitic" — as district superintendent. The letter also charges that the present board has allowed youth gangs to terrorize the schools and vigilante parent groups to terrorize teachers.

The UFT leadership paid for a full-page ad in the April 19 *Daily News* attacking Superintendent Fuentes and the board and urging a vote for the UFT-supported slate.

In another move, UFT attorneys forced Reverend Eric Snyder, one of

the board members, to withdraw from the community slate. Snyder allowed his name to be dropped from the ballot in exchange for a promise that the UFT would drop court challenges to the ballot status of the other seven members of the community-control slate.

Three members of the present board, Georgina Hoggard, Pedro Cordero, and Jane Tam, spoke at the Lower Manhattan Militant Forum April 20. The three made an impassioned plea for better education and support to the community slate.

In another development, District 1 board member Henry Ramos and candidates and parents from six other districts won a significant court victory April 19. In response to a suit filed by the Committee for Democratic Election Laws (CoDEL) and Williamsburg Legal Services, the board of elections was ordered to revise its procedures for identifying voters on election day, May 1.

The board of elections had proposed to use a computerized list of voters, rather than the usual practice of using signature registration cards, to verify that prospective voters were registered. This would mean all voters would have to furnish identification in order to vote, rather than simply their signatures.

Judy Baumann, CoDEL national secretary, said a signature comparison was required by the state constitution. Without it, she noted, many parents feared the entire election might be invalidated, or that fraud would occur in hotly contested districts. In addition, she pointed out that people could be disenfranchised if their names were

omitted from the computer list or if they didn't happen to have a driver's license or credit cards for identification.

Supreme Court Justice Anthony DiGiovanna ruled that the signature cards must be made available. The board of elections immediately appealed the decision, but a ruling on the appeal has not yet come down.

The offices of the Negro Action Group — Early Childhood Learning Center (NAG) on New York's Lower East Side were ransacked by unknown vandals April 22. Twenty to thirty thousand dollars worth of damage was done to the offices, which contain day care and nursery facilities as well as a bilingual education program.

Copying and duplicating machines, typewriters, record players, TV sets, and other valuable equipment were destroyed by the vandals. But with the aid of neighborhood volunteers the offices were cleaned up and functioning within two days.

Many of the workers at the NAG center are supporters of the community-control slate in the upcoming District 1 school board elections. Lyle Brown, president of NAG, is one of the eight candidates on the community slate.

NAG has been subjected to other instances of harassment in recent months. A consumer education food co-op run by NAG was burned down in December. And recently Congressman Mario Biaggi has begun a campaign to withdraw federal funding from NAG education programs because of pro-community-control signs hung in the NAG offices.



Vandalized offices of community-control supporters in District 1

Militant/Dan Rosenshine

By ANN WILCOX
and HARRY RING

LOS ANGELES—Two particular dates have a special importance for Gary Lawton. April 4, 1968—the day Martin Luther King was assassinated—and April 2, 1971, the day two white cops were killed in the town of Riverside and Lawton was charged with their murder.

Lawton's involvement in the Black liberation struggle began the day Martin Luther King was murdered. And

son. In the interview he said that often in such cases, the publicity tends to focus on one individual and the co-victims don't get the full benefit of the defense effort. Lawton is determined that this will not happen in this situation, and he is sparking the efforts to raise the \$100,000 bail now needed to win their release.

Gary Lawton is a highly conscious Black liberationist with deep pride in his African heritage. His involvement in the movement is fairly recent, and the evolution of his thinking was rapid.

Lawton finally found a steady job. He was hired by the operator of a janitorial service. "The man I replaced—a white man—was paid \$5 an hour. I was paid \$1.65."

The job situation was so desperate, he accepted that. But then problems developed.

"He began hiring other Black people," Lawton said, "and he wanted me to oversee them—make me the 'house nigger.'"

By that time, he had learned enough about the business to go it alone. He quit the job and began building his

community.

Largely under Lawton's leadership, a new organization emerged, the Black Congress.

"It was limited to Blacks," Lawton explained. "Not that we didn't appreciate the support of whites, not that we wanted to practice racism. But we felt it was time that Black people made their own decisions as to which direction to go in."

"It was open to any Black who wanted to be a part of it. The only qualification was just being Black. All meetings were open. Whites were admitted by invitation. We felt it was time to get our own thing together."

In a city where racism has the virulence of the South and organization of the Black community is on a minimal level, the Black Congress was able to function only a year or so. But a number of activists around the Lawtons continued their work, relating to community issues as they developed.

Lawton emerged as the principal spokesperson in the Black community. The local race-baiting daily, the *Riverside Press-Enterprise*, he says, did a lot to project his public image with constant scurrilous attacks.

As he became more prominent, and the racist barrage intensified, his previously successful business began going down the drain. One after another his almost exclusively white clientele began falling away.

A 'troublemaking nigger'

To make things tougher, in 1970 Chukia Lawton was fired from her job at a local hospital. "She was involved in organizing a picket line to protest the racist firing of a co-worker. She was also known as Gary Lawton's wife and labeled a 'troublemaking nigger.'"

The Lawtons remained steadfast in their commitment despite the increasing pressures.

Then came the shooting of the cops, the jailing, and two nightmarish years in prison.

The first months were spent in Riverside's miserable county jail. Then, for "security," the trial itself was held in Indio, a small town in the California desert. The heat in the jail there was often unbearable.

In Riverside, during the winter, the problem was the opposite. For a long period Lawton was confined in a wing that had no heat. Previous to his imprisonment he rarely had a cold. In jail he had a heavy, permanent one.

The food was slop. Lawton and others staged three hunger strikes in protest. As a result he spent months in segregated cells where the conditions were even worse.

"Normally healthy men, under these conditions, deteriorate to the point of being vulnerable to anything," he said. "I weighed 215 pounds at the time of my arrest. On release, right now, I weigh 165."

Because of the publicity surrounding his case, Lawton said, he never suffered direct physical abuse. But, he added, it's impossible to convey the meaning of the torture of that kind of a prison experience.

Talking about prison conditions, he brought the discussion back to his codefendants.

"Right now," he said, "that's more important than anything else. To get them out."

Those who may be in a position to help raise bail for Gardner and Jackson should contact the Riverside Political Prisoners Defense Committee, P.O. Box 5154, San Bernardino, Calif. 92412. Telephone: (714) 686-6087.

Contributions are also badly needed to help defray the costs of the continuing defense effort and to prepare for the second trial, which is slated for mid-May.

Both Gary and Chukia Lawton are available to speak at meetings and fund-raising affairs. Anyone who hears either of them will want to help.

INTERVIEW WITH BLACK ACTIVIST THE FRAME-UP OF GARY LAWTON

because he provided militant leadership for Black people, Riverside authorities decided to frame him for the killing of the two cops.

After two years in prison, Lawton is now temporarily free. A five-month trial had ended with a hung jury and, finally, on March 30 he was released on \$50,000 bail pending a slated new trial.

The day he was released, he came into Los Angeles with his family and spoke at a previously scheduled meeting on his case at the Militant Labor Forum. After the forum, he agreed to

Now 34, Lawton has lived in Riverside since he was six. He was jarred into consciousness about the meaning of racism when he quit school at 17 and joined the Marines. It was, he says, "racism in the raw."

Twice he was busted from corporal to private for refusing to accept racist abuse.

The Marines turned him toward books.

As a high school dropout in a racist city, he said, he probably had the equivalent of a fifth grade education and a sixth grade reading level. But

own custodial service. It worked out and for six years, "we lived like any normal family. We bought the house we live in now. My business went well."

King assassinated

Then came April 4, 1968. The Lawtons were out for a drive and were with the children at an ice cream stand when they heard a radio bulletin that Dr. King had been shot.

"At that very moment my whole life changed," Lawton said. "Like most other traditional American 'Negroes,' though we weren't doing anything to



The Lawton family from left, Ramona, Chukia, Gary Jr., and Gary with Hassan McWhorter, a friend of the family.

Militant/Harry Ring

a *Militant* interview. It was held on Monday, April 2, the second anniversary of the killing of the Riverside cops.

Lawton was indicted six weeks after the killing. He had previously been told by Riverside police that they did not know who the killers were but were determined that someone would be convicted. One cop told him that if anyone in the Black community came to know who the killers were, it would be Lawton. And if he didn't name someone, the cop clearly inferred, he might face the charge himself.

The "case" against Lawton rested almost completely on the unsubstantiated word of an admitted paid police informer and narcotics addict. He testified that he had previously sold Lawton a gun that police said was used in the killing.

While Lawton was in prison awaiting trial, two Black youth, Nehemiah Jackson and Larrie Gardner, were arrested as "conspirators" with Lawton in the killing. Lawton swore under oath he had never met the two until he was in prison. The prosecution never even tried to refute this.

In discussing the frame-up, Lawton frequently refers to Gardner and Jack-

he began combing the base library, and that began to shape his thinking.

He was particularly fascinated by those who had led the struggles in behalf of the oppressed. The first revolutionary figure to absorb his interest was the heroic Mexican fighter, Emiliano Zapata.

He also read about Ghandi and others, and when Martin Luther King emerged as a national figure he followed his career with interest and admiration.

But when he completed his Marine hitch in 1959, Lawton's energies were focused on the individual problems confronting a Black person trying to find a decent life in this society.

He had married while still in the service. Chukia, whom he married, had grown up with him in Riverside. An equally dedicated Black emancipation fighter, she has done an incredible job of building the defense committee that has mobilized support against the frame-up of the three.

The first years of their marriage were harsh. Gary could not find any kind of a job. Chukia, fortunately, is a specially skilled registered nurse and was able to keep working after they had children.

further the things Dr. King was striving for in behalf of Black people, I admired him. Although I'm a much more radical person now than I was then, there is no man I admire above him.

"Almost from the moment of his death I became involved in what was known then as the civil rights thing."

In the weeks after the assassination, there was a proposal in Riverside to rename a park recreation building in the Black community after King.

Lawton saw this as an offensive token gesture. He appeared before the city council and proposed that Riverside's main park be renamed after the slain rights leader.

That modest proposal touched off a furious racist response. The Lawton home was flooded with so many abusive, threatening phone calls that they finally had to get an unlisted number just to assure a night's sleep.

The Martin Luther King Memorial Park never came into existence in Riverside. But a movement did. People in the Black community began to turn to the Lawtons for leadership. For a period they had an Afro-American Political Association that ran Blacks for local offices to represent the Black

Would abolish STRESS

Dixon launches SWP Detroit mayoral race

By LINDA NORDQUIST

DETROIT—The Socialist Workers Party has announced its candidates for the 1973 municipal campaign here. Maceo Dixon, 23, a well-known activist in the Black liberation movement and the fight to abolish STRESS, is the mayoral candidate. Dixon is a member of the national committee of the Young Socialist Alliance and Detroit organizer for the YSA.

Also on the SWP slate are Rachel Fruit, candidate for common council; Lee Artz, running for school board; and Trudi Hawkins, nominee for school board region 5.

In an interview with *The Militant*, Dixon explained what he feels to be the priority issues in his campaign. "My campaign will center around several key issues," he said. "First, the

to \$150-million for more repression, more brutal attacks on the Black community.

"While Detroiters face spiraling inflation, federal cutbacks, and a local city budget that is totally out of line with our needs, the real rulers of this city (the heads of the automobile industries, banks, and utilities, for example) are facing a different problem: how to reinvest their incredible profits.

"Did you know that Henry Ford made \$874,567 in salary and bonuses last year? Or that the National Bank of Detroit has total assets of \$6.4-billion, that AMC netted \$7.1-million in their first quarter, and that Chrysler's profits for 1972 represented a 164 percent increase over '71?



Maceo Dixon being interviewed by reporters

Militant/Joel Aber

immediate abolition of STRESS. STRESS is nothing more than a police terror squad that has murdered at least 17 Black Detroit citizens in the past two years.

"The Black community is opposed to STRESS, yet the city 'leaders' ignore this sentiment and spend their time trying to defend its actions. A major portion of my efforts in this campaign will be in encouraging the Black community to join together in action to abolish the racist STRESS unit.

"Second," Dixon continued, "the city of Detroit is in the midst of a financial crisis that affects every aspect of the quality of life of Detroiters. Nixon's budget cutbacks mean that there will be only 12,000 jobs available for 210,000 young people this summer, thousands of people now employed by the Office of Economic Opportunity will be jobless, 3,000 low-cost housing units will not be built, Medicare benefits for the poor and aged will be even more limited.

"Also, construction of a desperately needed new Detroit General Hospital will not begin, special educational programs that involve 16,000 students will not exist this summer, and the scant recreational programs in the inner city will be closed.

"At the same time, the federal government on a national level will give a generous \$891-million contribution to local police.

"Mayor Gribbs, a Democrat, is right when he blames Nixon for these cutbacks, but what he fails to mention is that the financial crisis we face is a bipartisan responsibility. Gribbs and his Democratic administration recently announced their budget for Detroit. The largest single expenditure in that budget is for the police. In other words, he is going to spend close

"One of the ways that these capitalists are going to spend their money is by constructing a few office buildings, a hotel, and a luxury apartment complex on the river front. That project will cost \$450-million. At the same time it was recently reported that 70,000 Detroiters are underfed or ill-nourished and are slowly starving.

"As a candidate of the Socialist Workers Party, I have a program that will put an end to these inequities. For example, by nationalizing these corporations and putting them under the control of working people, and by instituting a massive public works program, we would have tremendous financial resources to solve the problems that Detroiters face. We could begin to construct the hospitals, schools, housing facilities—all of the things that all humans need to live a good life.

"You know, this is supposedly a 'nonpartisan' election. That implies that somehow the candidates are 'independent' of the big capitalist parties. Nothing could be further from the truth.

"These phony 'nonpartisan' elections allow capitalist candidates to hide their real party affiliations and their real program of support to the capitalist system. I am also going to be fighting this hoax. We are running a slate of socialists on the SWP program and we want everyone in this city to know that."

Dixon urged people to help build the socialist alternative. Volunteer workers and financial contributions are needed to bring the socialist program to the citizens of Detroit. Write or call: Detroit Socialist Workers '73 Campaign Committee, 3737 Woodward, Detroit, Mich. 48201. Telephone: (313) 831-6135.

Campaigning for Socialism

'RADICAL TAKEOVER' FAILS TO MATERIALIZE IN BERKELEY: A slate of moderate Democrats, the "Berkeley Four," won three of the four vacancies on the city council in the April 17 municipal elections, beating the April Coalition, a combination of liberal Democrats and student activists. All four of the April Coalition nominees also were Democrats.

One April Coalition candidate, Ying Lee Kelley, was elected. The forces allied against the April Coalition however, now have five of the nine council votes.

The winning three of the "Berkeley Four" all received votes in the 23,000-range. Kelley received just over 20,000, and the rest of the April Coalition from 18,000 to 20,000.

The candidates of the Socialist Workers Party for the city council received several hundred votes each. SWP candidates in school board contests each received more than 4,000.

SEALE CAMPAIGN THROWS OAKLAND MAYORAL RACE INTO RUNOFF: Bobby Seale received 21,314 votes in the April 17 municipal elections in Oakland, 19 percent of the vote. Though far less than the "landslide" victory Seale had been projecting for his campaign, his vote total was enough to force a May 15 runoff election between him and incumbent Republican mayor John Reading. Reading received 55,342 votes, only 168 short of the 50 percent required to win outright in the first round of voting.

Elaine Brown, running for city council with Seale, received 34,845 votes, or 32 percent of the total. While substantially more than Seale received, these were insufficient to win or force a runoff.



Militant/Rick Congress

In last minute effort to win votes, Seale pasted "A Democrat" sticker on his campaign posters.

The election results were a surprise to most observers. Reading ran stronger than expected, while a split between the two Oakland machine Democrats vying for the mayor's seat—Ortho Green and John Sutter, who together received 31 percent of the vote—enabled Seale to come in second and make the runoff with his 19 percent return.

James Lewis, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Oakland School Board, received 10,101 votes (10 percent), and Rick Congress, SWP candidate for Peralta Board of Trustees, won 4,818 (4.5 percent) in the elections. These were the only candidates waging a campaign urging a break with the two capitalist parties and advocating Black and Raza control of the Black and Raza communities.

Seale's showing at the polls indicated significant support within the Black community. Part of his vote came from those who look to the Black Panther Party and Seale for political direction. A significant number of votes, however, were won through Seale's assurances that he could be a "good" Democrat.

Seale won the last-minute endorsement of Cesar Chavez of the United Farmworkers Union, an endorsement that undoubtedly boosted his stock among reform Democrats.

'AS FAR AS I'M CONCERNED, IF I BECOME MAYOR, MR. RICH WILL HAVE TO APPLY TO YOU IF HE WANTS TO WORK AT THE STORE': With these words, SWP candidate for mayor of Atlanta Debby Bustin told an April 19 meeting of 150 Rich's Department Store strikers of her support. Bustin had been invited to speak at the meeting by strike leader Ernie Brown. Referring to Bustin's daily participation in the picketing, Brown quipped when introducing her, "I don't know where LeRoy Johnson has been. I don't know where Maynard Jackson has been. But I know where this woman has been every morning at 7 a.m."

State Senator LeRoy Johnson and Atlanta's Vice-Mayor Maynard Jackson are two Black Democratic Party candidates for mayor.

In her speech to the strikers, Bustin explained, "Most people think a politician is someone who may decide to support a strike in order to win some votes. I support a strike in order to help win the strike."

Two weeks ago, Vice-Mayor Maynard Jackson spoke at Atlanta University, a Black campus. During the question period, Bustin challenged him to state his position on the Rich's strike. The chairman of the meeting ruled her question out of order and asked her to leave the room. But a Black Atlanta University student repeated the question, forcing Jackson to answer, "I don't take positions in private labor disputes."

Bustin has used the media time obtained by her campaign to help break through an almost total boycott of the strike by the major news media.

Last week, every major radio station took a taped two minute statement by Bustin supporting the strikers' demand for an \$1-an-hour across-the-board wage increase and an end to racist hiring and promotion practices at Rich's. WAOK, Atlanta's largest Black radio station, played the entire statement once each hour for 24 hours. —PETER SEIDMAN

Socialists & the fight against anti-Semitism in the '30's

Why Zionists and liberal Jewish leaders opposed 'open door' for victims of fascism

By PETER SEIDMAN

In 1942, Rabbi Stephen Wise, the leading Zionist spokesman in the U.S., complained to his friend Felix Frankfurter, "I don't know whether I'm getting to be the J of Jude, but I find that a good part of my work is to explain to my fellow Jews why our government cannot do all the things asked or expected of it."

In a previous article (see *The Militant*, April 27, 1973), we demonstrated that the Roosevelt administration, far from aiding the masses of European refugees from Nazi terror, had in fact stood quietly by while hundreds of thousands of Jews and others were being murdered. Estimates as to the total number of refugees that were permitted to enter the U.S. between 1933 and 1945 vary from about 150,000 to a high of about 250,000. A very small number indeed compared to the millions of victims of fascism.

Why at this time did Rabbi Wise consider it his job "to explain to my fellow Jews why our government cannot do all the things asked or expected of it?"

Zionist and many leading non-Zionist Jewish organizations had different but complementary reasons for uncritically supporting the New Deal despite Roosevelt's murderous inaction during the refugee crisis. The Zionists had as a primary aim securing the backing of U.S. imperialism for a Jewish state in Palestine. Zionists in the U.S. followed the same strategy as their cothinkers in Europe, seeking to show how the founding of Israel would benefit imperialism's plans in the Middle East.

They felt that any struggle against New Deal immigration policies might interfere with Zionist attempts to woo U.S. support for their plans. Further, Zionists believed that rescue operations in general tended to divert resources from their efforts to establish an exclusive Jewish state in Palestine.

Wise was once asked, for example, what he thought of the idea of resettling the refugees in the former German colony of Tanganyika, one of a number of racist and impractical schemes talked about by FDR. Wise's answer is very revealing: "I would rather have my fellow Jews die in Germany than live somehow, anyhow, in the lands which bear the imprint of yesterday's occupation by Germany, in lands which may tomorrow be yielded back . . . to Germany."

In 1943, during Hitler's genocide against the Jewish people, Itzhak Greenbaum, head of the Jewish Agency Rescue Committee, declared to the Zionist Executive Council: "If I am asked could you give from UJA

[United Jewish Appeal] moneys to rescue Jews? I say 'No; and I say again, No.' In my opinion we have to resist that wave which puts Zionist activities in the second line."

A number of major Jewish organizations, like the B'nai B'rith and the American Jewish Congress, had not yet become Zionist by 1938-39. These organizations had their own reasons, complementary to those of the Zionists, for wishing to support U.S. imperialism even at the expense of fighting against U.S. immigration policies restricting the admission of the European refugees.

'Good Americans'

The B'nai B'rith and the American Jewish Congress were organizations of the wealthiest and most assimilated U.S. Jews whose families had emigrated to the U.S. in the early nineteenth century, primarily from Germany. They were the elite of American Jewish society. They thought of themselves as "good Americans" just as many of the elite Jews of Germany — on the eve of Hitler's rise to power — thought of themselves as "good Germans."

These Jewish leaders believed that any influx of Jewish refugees from Europe would undermine their assimilation into U.S. society. They believed that large concentrations of non-English speaking Jews from the ghettos of Europe would in fact provoke an anti-Semitic reaction here in the U.S.

They argued that the best defense against anti-Semitism was for Jews to appear as "American" as possible, that is, as the most patriotic supporters of the New Deal. They wanted to project the image that Stephen Wise did to the American Jewish Congress, when he told it that Jews "are Americans, first, last, and all the time. Nothing else that we are, whether by faith or race or fate, qualifies our Americanism."

These Zionist and non-Zionist Jewish leaders sought every chance to show how "American" they could be. They even went along with the Roosevelt administration's astonishing argument that one reason for the restrictive visa regulations was to prevent an influx of revolutionaries and Nazi agents "disguised" as refugees! This excuse was used to deny refuge to thousands of victims of anti-Semitic terror and fighters against fascism.

Some non-Zionist Jews who for their own reasons did not wish to struggle against the U.S. government for the admission of the refugees found a useful rationale in the Zionist claim that *only* in a Jewish state in Palestine could the Jewish people find any real



Warsaw under Nazi occupation

security. After all, if this was so, why bother to struggle to help them find safety anywhere else?

Conversely, from the Zionist point of view, any such struggles that might have proven successful would only have undermined their arguments that the Jewish state they sought to create in Palestine could provide the only security from anti-Semitic attacks.

This coincidence of interests led to a criminal policy in which the major Zionist and non-Zionist U.S. Jewish organizations subordinated the interests of the Jewish refugees to their policy of support to Roosevelt.

And this is why Rabbi Wise, who wondered whether he was "getting to be the J of Jude" spent so much of his time explaining to his fellow Jews "why our government cannot do all the things asked or expected of it."

The policy followed by Wise and other Jewish and Zionist leaders was one of total abstention from *any* meaningful struggle to aid the victims of fascist anti-Semitism in Europe to obtain refuge here in the U.S.

It is true that the major Jewish and Zionist organizations contributed money and personnel to rescue operations in Europe, and that they also organized a number of rallies bringing attention to the plight of Jews suffering under Nazism.

But with the exception of a few organizations — such as the Jewish Labor Committee, at that time a non-Zionist organization, and Peter Bergson's Emergency Committee to Save the Jewish People of Europe, a maverick group in the Zionist movement — the major U.S. Jewish organizations never demanded that the U.S. government "open the doors" to the victims, Jewish and non-Jewish alike, of fascism in Europe.

A shameful record

Their shameful failure to do so is part of the historical record.

Following a Nazi boycott of all Jewish merchants in Germany in April 1933, many organizations, Jewish and non-Jewish, called for an international boycott of German goods, including a demand that the U.S. impose a trade embargo on Germany. The B'nai B'rith and the American Jewish Committee opposed the call for a boycott, warning against any "public agitation in the form of boycotts and mass demonstrations."

These, they considered, "serve only as ineffectual channels for the release of emotion. They furnish the persecutors with a pretext to justify the wrongs they perpetrate and, on the other hand, distract those who desire to help with more constructive efforts."

The protest of the oppressed serves only to furnish a justification for the oppressor!

David Brody, a scholar who made a study of how the Jewish press dealt with the refugee crisis, reported the following in the June 1956 *Publication of the American Jewish Historical Society*: "Almost nothing is to be found in the Jewish literature between 1938 and 1942 expressing significant dissatisfaction with the immigration laws. *B'nai B'rith Magazine* had run periodically editorials on 'the Old America,' when the door was open to all who wished to enter; this might be construed as an implicit criticism of the quota restrictions. After 1938, such editorials no longer appeared. The *Annual Reports* of the American Jewish Committee made no adverse mention from 1938 to 1942 of the immigration laws. The American Jewish Congress also maintained silence. . . . The significant exception to this position was the non-Zionist labor organizations belonging to the Jewish Labor Committee."

Immigration limits

In April 1939, Rabbi Wise testified before a congressional hearing on immigration. Wise said: "I want to make it plain, so far as I am concerned, there is no intention whatsoever to depart from the immigration laws which at present obtain. I have heard no sane person propose any departure or deviation from the existing law now in force."

" . . . I feel that the country and the Congress should not be asked to do more than take care of a limited number of children. The bill provides for 10,000 each year for a period of two years. After all, we cannot take care of all of them. Germany has a population of five or six hundred thousand Jews."

When asked to state the position of the B'nai B'rith and the American Jewish Committee on proposed legislation that would loosen U.S. visa requirements and permit more German refugees to enter the country, Max J. Kohler testified on behalf of those organizations to the House Committee on Immigration: "I think that is a salutary thing, but our plea is in behalf of non-laborers and some exceptional persons."

"I oppose special legislation for their [German refugees] benefit."

This was the record of those who today accuse the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance of being "anti-Semitic." In the following articles we will discuss how the SWP viewed the fight for the admission of the refugees and what it, along with other radical organizations, did to achieve this goal.



April 1, 1933, Nazi boycott of Jewish merchants in Berlin

CP's 'new' election policy

Is the Communist Party moving left?

By LARRY SEIGLE

In his speech entitled "A Lame Duck in Turbulent Waters—the next 4 years of Nixon," delivered to the Communist Party's central committee last December, CP General Secretary Gus Hall said his party had been wrong "for 30 years" in burying itself in the Democratic Party. He promised the CP would run its own candidates more frequently and take concrete steps to organize a new "anti-monopoly party."

Does this speech signify a turn to the left by the CP? Will the CP, in carrying out Hall's speech, move away from support to capitalist politics? Despite the CP's current campaign to refurbish its image by painting itself as more radical and more dynamic than in the past, the answer to these questions is clearly "No."

An illustration of how the Communist Party is relating to capitalist politics after Hall's speech can be found in the recent Los Angeles municipal elections. The CP put up a candidate for city controller, a minor post, but declined to nominate a candidate for mayor or other major offices. It is relatively easy to get on the ballot in L.A. municipal races, and a recent lawsuit even invalidated the filing fee requirement for candidates who can't afford to pay.

But instead of running their own campaign, the CP supported Thomas Bradley, an ex-cop and Black Democratic city councilman, for mayor. Pierre Mandel, the CP campaign manager in Los Angeles, told the *L.A. Free Press* that the CP wouldn't "endorse" capitalist candidates but it would "support" some, including ex-cop Bradley. The fine line distinguishing "support" from "endorsement" may be visible to Communist Party politicians, but the distinction is a mystery to the rest of us.

But didn't Gus Hall in his speech rule out support to capitalist parties and capitalist politicians? Not at all. In fact, Hall took great pains to make it clear that the CP was not breaking from its policy of extending support to Democratic Party politicians. In his speech he emphasized that the "policies of the Party must be carried out with thought and with common sense. . . . Let me give a couple of examples in the electoral field in order to make this point. For instance, we must not do what the Trotskyites do in elections. . . ."

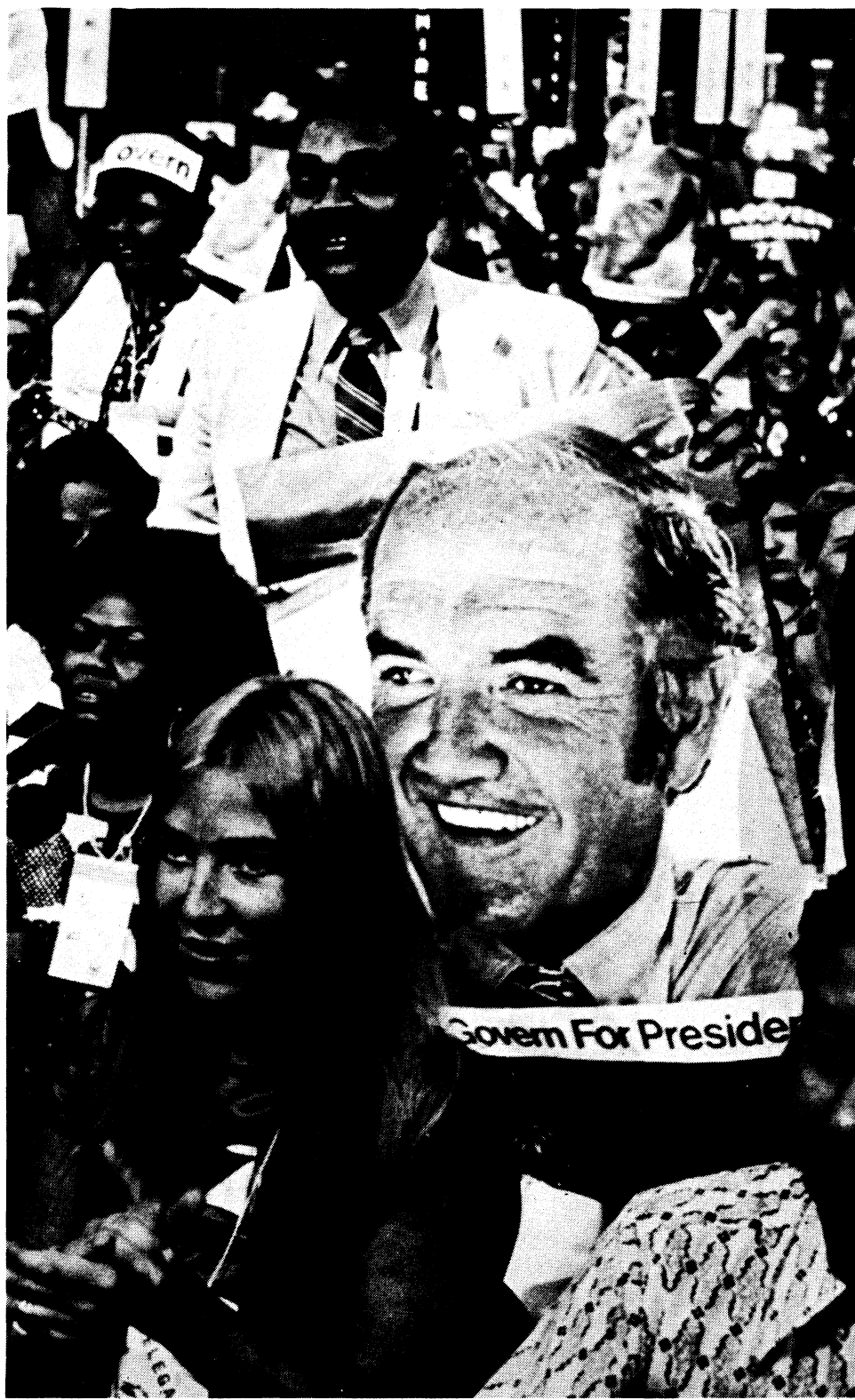
What "the Trotskyites"—meaning the Socialist Workers Party—do is to run candidates, wherever and whenever possible, against the candidates of the capitalist parties, liberals and conservatives, Democrats and Republicans alike. Hall falsely presents SWP policy as "picking election campaigns such as those of Stokes, Abzug and others, but especially campaigns where there are Black candidates, and running Trotskyite candidates specifically against them—against Black, liberal, working-class candidates."

What Hall objects to is the fact that the SWP staunchly and vigorously opposes all capitalist candidates, including those who sucker people in by proclaiming themselves as "liberal" or even "radical."

"There is no question," Hall says, "that such a policy is irresponsible."

Hall wants it perfectly clear that the CP will continue to support Democratic politicians of the Abzug and Stokes variety—"working-class candidates," he calls them. By what stretch of the imagination is Bella Abzug, a New York lawyer and Democratic Party operator, a "working-class" candidate?

Black Democrats like Stokes or Delums or Chisholm don't benefit Black people, or working people. They do just the opposite, by building illusions in and strengthening support for the Democratic Party, one of the parties of the racists and capitalists.



1972 Democratic national convention. The Communist Party's support for McGovern put them at odds with the Kremlin, which was supporting Nixon.

The CP's phony "break" with the Democratic Party became necessary because the CP, in supporting McGovern for president (while at the same time fielding its own slate of Gus Hall and Jarvis Tyner), found itself temporarily at odds with the Soviet bureaucrats, who were supporting Nixon for reelection.

Although the CP and the Kremlin have for decades been touting the Democrats as the party of "peaceful coexistence," it turned out to be a Republican administration that engineered the "new relationship" with Moscow. As Gus Hall puts it, while Nixon was "retreating from cold-war positions" McGovern was "left holding the cold-war bag."

It would have been political suicide for the CP to openly support Nixon, as they have supported Democrats in the past. But neither could they continue to support McGovern against him.

The way out was found by proclaiming themselves "independent" of the Democrats. And, to quiet criticism of the Kremlin's partisanship for "the mad bomber," and its stab in the back of the Vietnamese revolution, the CP carried out this maneuver with some radical-sounding rhetoric and a few red flags waving.

But this is only for show. In reality, Gus Hall's speech represents a continuation of the CP's complete support for the conservative bureaucracy in the Kremlin, and its policy of "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism.

In fact, far from turning to the left, the CP is completely in step with the Kremlin's detente with Nixon. The "new friendship" between Moscow and Washington has been built on the Soviet bureaucracy's betrayal of the Vietnamese revolution. In return for trade and diplomatic concessions, the Moscow Stalinists exerted pressure on Hanoi to agree to accept a "cease-fire" agreement allowing the U.S.-backed Thieu regime to remain in power and to be armed and financed by the U.S. on a continuing basis.

When what the Vietnamese revolution needed was international solidarity and a massive mobilization of opposition to Nixon's war, Moscow defaulted. Pro-Moscow Communist parties with mass influence in the unions,

especially those in Europe, refused to mobilize against the Vietnam war. Instead of seeking to close ranks with China in defense of Vietnam, the Soviet bureaucrats allowed Nixon to take advantage of the Moscow-Peking dispute to drive forward with his war aims in Indochina.

When the Vietnamese revolution needed defense against U.S. bombers, Moscow refused to send adequate military equipment. And when Nixon unleashed his wrath on North Vietnam in May of 1972, bombing Hanoi and mining the harbors—when Hanoi needed solidarity more than ever—Brezhnev was exchanging enthusiastic toasts of "friendship and goodwill" with Nixon in Moscow!

This repulsive scene aroused anger and dismay among defenders of the Vietnamese revolution throughout the world. But the CPUSA stood loyally by the Kremlin, despite widespread criticism within the U.S. antiwar movement, and even some uneasiness within the CP itself over the brazenness of the sellout.

Far from becoming more "radical," the CP is desperately trying to cover up this monstrous stab in the back of the heroic Vietnamese freedom fighters.

The history of Communist Party electoral strategy is chock-full of "turns" like the current one, all of which have been carried out in response to shifting relationships between the Stalinist bureaucrats in Moscow and the imperialists. This history shines a glaring light on the role of the American CP as a political agent of Soviet foreign policy, completely subservient to the Kremlin.

The CP broke sharply in 1936 with the tradition, strong among all class-conscious workers, of refusing to vote for capitalist candidates. That year, although they ran their own candidates, the CP supported Franklin Roosevelt for reelection (the Republican Landon had to be "defeated at all costs"), as Moscow sought to establish an alliance with the U.S. against Germany.

In the 1940 election, during the time of the Stalin-Hitler pact, the CP opposed this same Roosevelt. And, in 1944, in line with the wartime alliance between the U.S. and the Soviet Union, during which the CP was 100 percent "patriotic" and prowar, they gave complete support once again to Roosevelt. This time they didn't even run their own token campaign.

In 1948 the CP became "independent" from the Democratic Party, which nominated Truman, and joined Henry Wallace's Progressive Party—a third capitalist party—in a vain attempt to preserve the Moscow-Washington alliance in the face of the beginning cold war.

In the 1950s, the Stalinists corrected this "ultraleft" error and returned to the Democratic Party fold, once again pushing doorbells for the Democrats as the party of "peaceful coexistence." In the 1950s and 1960s they more or

Continued on page 22



Hanoi's Bach Mai hospital, demolished by B-52 strikes. CP supports Moscow's refusal to give adequate support to the Vietnamese revolution.

Childhood in Prison

A Childhood in Prison by Pyotr Yakir. Coward, McCann and Geoghegan, Inc. New York, 1973. 150 pp. \$5.95.

Pyotr Yakir, prominent activist in the Soviet democratic opposition, has been imprisoned since his arrest in June 1972. He is the son of Soviet Army Commander Iona Yakir, who was executed by Stalin during the purges of the late 1930s. Pyotr Yakir has been an outspoken opponent of the attempts by Stalin's heirs in the Kremlin to crush the opposition movement today.

Books

In May 1969, Yakir was instrumental in founding the Initiative Group in Defense of Human Rights in the USSR. He has been a persistent defender of arrested dissidents since the mid-sixties and an active

military officers, economic managers, and the families of top party leaders and KGB (secret police) officials—all victims of Stalin's purges.

Most of his five years in prison was spent among the "Blatny"—young delinquents who for the most part refused to cooperate with prison authorities. Yakir became involved in a wide range of activities: a commune in his prison cell, hunger strikes, theft—and even arson, as the young convicts set fire to their cell to protest their confinement.

A Childhood in Prison, part one of Yakir's memoirs, provides an excellent description of day-to-day life in Soviet prison camps in the late 1930s and early 1940s. There is little discussion of broad political and social questions; Yakir does not present insights into the thinking of Soviet dissidents in the 1960s or 1970s.

The appearance of the book is a political act in itself, however. Its contents have been circulated underground by Soviet dissidents; the Stalin-



Yakir (l) visiting another Soviet civil rights advocate, Victor Krasin, in exile in Siberia in 1970.

opponent of such Kremlin policies as the invasion of Czechoslovakia. His arrest culminated a campaign of harassment against Yakir and his family that had been gaining momentum over the past six years.

At the time of his father's execution in 1937, Pyotr and his mother were exiled and then arrested, like the relatives of many purge victims, for being "the family of a traitor." Pyotr was separated from his mother. Her fate is unknown, although she may have been shot in the fall of 1941, as were other wives of prominent army commanders.

Pyotr spent the period from 1937 to 1942 in various Soviet prison camps near the Caspian Sea. He rebelled continuously against the authorities and escaped three times, only to be swiftly apprehended.

From the large number of prisoners he met, he heard of the mass arrests and executions ordered by Stalin. Gradually he sensed the overall social and political calamity in the Soviet Union. He met party functionaries,

ist bureaucracy has not seen fit to allow its open publication in the Soviet Union. In fact, secret police confiscated the second part of Yakir's memoirs when they searched his apartment in January 1972.

Yakir has not yet been tried. The KGB released a rumor in December 1972 that he had recanted and had turned over to authorities the names of his comrades in struggle. The rumors said that arrests were imminent. By this ploy, the Kremlin bureaucrats hoped to intimidate opposition activists into silence.

An indication that the "recantation" story may be only a KGB fabrication comes from Yakir himself, in the only direct statement attributed to him since his arrest in 1972.

An activist in the opposition movement had a face-to-face meeting with Yakir at Moscow's Lefortovo prison when she was called in for questioning by the KGB in December 1972. According to reports in the Western press, Yakir told her: "No one will be arrested, but I will never get out of here."

—MARILYN VOGT

Warsaw Ghetto uprising

Holocaust and Resistance. A commemorative exhibit on the thirtieth anniversary of the Warsaw Ghetto uprising. Atrium Center for Jewish Culture, 25 E. 78 St., New York, N.Y. Through April 29.

As part of their genocidal plans, the Nazis instituted a system of massive population transfers of Jews into the central cities of occupied Europe. Within these cities they established special Jewish ghettos.

Between 400,000 and 600,000 Jews were, in this manner, crowded into the Jewish ghetto in Warsaw, Poland. The area was so small that it was estimated there were six to seven persons in every room.

Once the Nazis had forced the Jews into the ghetto, they instituted a whole series of measures aimed at the destruction of all who lived within. It was forbidden to leave the ghetto to find work or to buy food. Rations into the ghetto were continually reduced in quantity and quality until, by the end, the total month's ration in Warsaw consisted of two pounds of rotten bread, nine ounces of sugar, three-and-a-half ounces of jam, and one-and-three-quarters ounces of fats.

Heavily armed guards surrounded the ghetto and shot anyone attempting to escape or to smuggle in food. Within the ghetto Nazi-

Photography

supervised Jewish police enforced the anti-Semitic terror regime.

By 1941, starvation took the lives of thousands every month. So did an outbreak of spotted fever.

It was estimated that it would take five years to starve off the entire population of the ghetto in this manner. But in the summer of 1942, after techniques of mass murder had been developed, mass transportations of ghetto residents to the extermination camps began.

By July 1942, trains carrying 5,000 people each left every day for Treblinka. An additional two trains left every week bringing 10,000 more to Belzec.

By January 1943, the Jews of the Warsaw ghetto had begun to organize their defense. On April 19, SS stormtroopers broke into the ghetto to round up the remaining inhabitants for transport to death camps. The SS troops were met with armed resistance carried out from street to street and house to house by the heroic defenders of the ghetto. The fighting lasted for 28 days and nights. With almost no exceptions, all those who did not fall in the fighting were captured and murdered at Treblinka.

"Holocaust and Resistance" is an exhibit devoted to the memory of the Warsaw uprising, the first major civilian revolt against the Nazis in occupied Europe.

Its many moving photographs of Jewish life in Warsaw before and during the Nazi occupation reduce the abstract terror of anti-Semitic genocide to the more understandable level of the face of a woman athlete, or a Jewish socialist pasting up an election campaign leaflet on a lamppost. Soon both will be dead.

There are also photostats and translations of documents, both of the Jewish victims and the Nazi criminals regarding the Warsaw resistance. In one, Mordecai Anilewicz, a leader of the fighting against the Nazis, after describing the last battles, says "I am happy to have been one of the first Jewish fighters in the ghetto. Where will rescue come from?"

There was no rescue for the Jews of Warsaw. The capitalist "democracies" turned their back. One section of this exhibit is devoted to Artur Zygelboim, who escaped from the ghetto to seek aid for its victims. Getting no help, Zygelboim committed suicide. In his final statement he said: "By my death I wish to express my strongest possible protest against the inactivity with which the world is looking on and permitting the extermination of the Jewish people."

—PETER SEIDMAN



Defenders of Warsaw ghetto being led to execution

Atlanta; N.Y. report high sales

By NANCY COLE

APRIL 24—Members of the Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party in Atlanta sold 332 *Militants* last week, and 111 of those were to striking Rich's department store workers and their supporters.

At one strike demonstration, 79 were sold in about one-and-a-half hours. According to sales director Meg Rose, one of the reasons sales went quickly was that 46 of the papers sold at the demonstration were sold by strikers themselves. In a show of support for *The Militant's* coverage of the strike and for the support Atlanta YSAers and SWPers have been giving to the strike, strikers approached *Militant* sellers, asked to take their bundles, and returned later with money from the sales.

Top salesman in Atlanta last week was Robin Singer, who sold 73.

The Upper West Side in Manhattan tops the scoreboard this week, jumping 108 from the previous week's sales to 460. Top salesman there was Marty Goodman with 136 sold.

Los Angeles sellers experienced their best week of the sales campaign last week, selling 440. During Women's Week at the University of California at Los Angeles, they sold 72, and at the Western States Lesbian Conference held there over the weekend, they sold 131 *Militants*. Heading the list of sellers in Los Angeles was Sudie Trippett, with 57 sold.

Areas report continued sales at plant gates and work places, with the aim of distributing *The Militant's* program for fighting inflation as widely as possible. For example, last week Chicago supporters sold 32 *Militants* at a U.S. Steel plant, 18 at United Parcel Service, and 12 at the post office. In San Francisco, 14 were sold at a Retail Clerk's meeting, and Detroit sold 12 at a Metropolitan Detroit AFL-CIO meeting. Salespeople from the Oakland/Berkeley area sold 30 at the weekly Shell strike rally in Martinez.

Two areas report sales at tax protests—Twin Cities, 22 *Militants*, and Lower Manhattan, 17. Lunch hour sales are also proving successful. In San Francisco 45 papers were sold last week by supporters who work downtown and sold during their lunch breaks.

While sales were down nationally this week (444 less than the previous week's), three areas decided to take on higher weekly sales goals. Lower Manhattan raised their quota for the second time—from 350 to 400; Upper West Side from 325 to 400; and Atlanta from 250 to 300.

All areas will be making a special effort during this next week to get out *The Militant* with its call

to protest on May 5. Readers are encouraged to join in this effort and to participate in the last part of the spring sales campaign by ordering a weekly *Militant* bundle and accepting a sales quota.

Militant scoreboard

AREA	SOLD WEEKLY		SOLD	
	LAST WEEK	GOAL	%	PREVIOUS WEEK
Upper West Side	460	325	142	(352)
Atlanta	332	250	133	(299)
Mt. Pleasant	25	20	125	(15)
San Diego	251	225	112	(281)
Lower Manhattan	372	350	106	(366)
Washington, D.C.	254	250	102	(234)
Elyria	10	10	100	(10)
Hershey	10	10	100	(10)
Houston	500	500	100	(275)
Huntington	40	40	100	(40)
Nashville	25	25	100	(25)
Portsmouth	40	40	100	(*)
Riverside	10	10	100	(*)
Worcester	18	20	90	(20)
Phoenix	35	40	88	(*)
Detroit	286	350	82	(322)
Austin	160	200	80	(100)
Los Angeles	440	550	80	(347)
Seattle	190	250	76	(207)
Oakland/Berkeley	377	500	75	(468)
Portland	143	200	72	(207)
Boston	351	500	70	(383)
Chicago	330	500	66	(440)
Philadelphia	176	275	64	(235)
Providence	25	40	63	(21)
Twin Cities	266	425	63	(300)
Brooklyn	157	325	48	(244)
Cleveland	120	250	48	(285)
College Park	23	50	46	(28)
San Francisco	220	500	44	(267)
Denver	80	225	36	(80)
TOTAL SOLD LAST WEEK	5,726			
GOAL	7,000			
(* no report)				

I WANT TO TAKE A SALES QUOTA OF _____

Please send me a weekly bundle of (12.5 cents/copy, payable after you sell them): 5 10 25 Other _____

Name _____
Address _____
City _____ State _____ Zip _____
14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014

April YS sales top 20,000

By DELFINE WELCH

The Philadelphia-Washington Young Socialist team set the pace in sales of the *Young Socialist* and *The Militant* this week. In just one week the four team members sold 620 papers.

The 12 teams touring campuses this spring report that the April *Young Socialist*, featuring a firsthand report on the struggle at Wounded Knee, continues to be a fast seller. The Cleveland-Detroit team sold 185 YSs in one day at the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor.

Altogether the 12 teams sold more than 10,000 of the April YS. In addition, YS supporters and Young Socialist Alliance chapters ordered 10,000 YSs for sales across the country, to make a total of more than 20,000 students and young people reading the YS this month.

Twenty-five people, mostly foreign students, at Southern Illinois University in Carbondale heard Diane Rupp of the Chicago team speak on "Socialism and Democracy." A Palestinian student there offered to help sell *The Militant* because "it is the first newspaper I have seen in the U.S. that defends my homeland."

The New York team helped build a meeting at Yale University for Norman Oliver, SWP candidate for mayor of New York City and member of the YSA's national committee. About 30 Black students heard Oliver speak on "Socialism: Is It Relevant to the Black Experience?"

The Young Socialist Teams Fund has received \$6,923 to date, including a \$100 contribution last week from a supporter in Cleveland. Contributions are still urgently needed to complete the drive for the \$10,000 required to finance the teams. Please send in your contribution today.

Young Socialist teams

TEAM	MILITANT		YOUNG SOCIALIST	
	SOLD LAST WEEK	GOAL	SOLD LAST WEEK	GOAL
Philadelphia-D.C.	316	200	304	200
Denver	250	200	235	200
Boston	220	200	205	200
Berkeley-San Francisco	184	175	181	175
Twin Cities	180	150	180	150
New York	165	150	180	150
Austin-Houston	154	150	150	150
Atlanta	166	200	184	200
Chicago	178	200	187	200
Cleveland-Detroit	149	200	267	200
Los Angeles-San Diego	119	150	65	150
Seattle-Portland	117	150	106	150
TOTAL SOLD	2,198	2,125	2,244	2,125



\$0 \$6,923 \$10,000

- () I can contribute \$ _____ to the \$10,000 YS Teams Fund.
- () I can provide food and housing, set up a speaking engagement or interview, or otherwise help a team visiting my area.

Name _____
Address _____
City _____ State _____ Zip _____
YS Teams Fund, Box 471 Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003.

Pentagon's \$22-million shoeshine

It costs a lot of money for the Pentagon to maintain its 2,300 military bases around the world. So from time to time they reshuffle their installations, closing down old and inefficient bases and beefing up the modern ones.

April 17 the Pentagon announced the latest shuffle. More than 270 installations in the U.S. will be closed down or cut back—a savings of \$400-million, they proudly stated. Part of the "savings," however, will come from closing down such facilities as the Naval Hospital in the St. Albans section of Queens. The 11,000 vets who visit the hospital's outpatient clinic each month will just have to find some other place to get medical treatment. No small trick in New York City.

American Way of Life

The Pentagon has also found other ways to stretch a dollar. Although the food served to the armed forces has never been known as a recruiting asset, they've decided to cut the quality even further. The brass has ordered Navy cooks to substitute hamburger for steaks and chops whenever possible. And Army troops have been ordered to cut down on high-priced joints of beef and eat more pot roast.

"Menus will be just as nutritious," a military food-supply officer (who probably eats at home) explained to Associated Press recently, "but not as delicious."

In August 1972, long before the big jump in meat prices, the Defense Department had already ordered the armed forces to cut beef purchases by 10 percent. The Navy went even further. Among the items eliminated from their menus are minute steaks, frozen beef tenderloin, lamb chops, Canadian bacon, and pork spareribs. Flounder, haddock, lobster, shrimp, and oysters haven't been seen lately either, not to mention asparagus and corn on the cob.

It seems, however, that the top brass have ignored an area where cutbacks would be almost painless—except for themselves—the millions of dollars spent annually on their servants ("aides"). In today's Action Army, a general gets one "aide" for each star on his shoulder.

In a speech prepared for the Senate April 18, Senator William Proxmire (D-Wis.) charged that "taxpayers are hit for almost \$22-million a year to make life soft for generals, admirals, and Navy captains." A special report the General Accounting Office prepared at his request revealed that "\$21.3-million is spent to pay military servants and another \$360,000 is spent to train them.

"These 1,722 men are supposed to be volunteers," Proxmire continued, "but 13 percent of the enlisted aides interviewed told the GAO they were assigned to be servants."

What kind of essential defense services do these "aides" provide? Well, in a special program at Fort Lee, Va., they're trained to make penguins out of hard-boiled eggs, carve swans out of ice, bake chocolate-covered petit-fours, and empty ashtrays.

According to a Feb. 1 Associated Press account, the "duties listed in the course include pet care, cleaning of a general's headquarters, care of officer's uniform and equipment, preparation of centerpieces and ice carvings, and watering plants.

"A section called household duties includes these responsibilities: empty and wash all the ashtrays; sweep off steps and porch; scour tub, lavatory, and all fixtures; empty laundry hamper; insure adequate supply of soap, facial tissue, toilet tissue, and toothpaste."

After all, explained Major Richard Heinz, who heads the Fort Lee program, a general is important, "he's a leader." He "doesn't have time to shine a pair of shoes, so he's given an enlisted man to help him."

Shining a general's shoes is bad enough. But suppose you were in Master Sergeant Lawrence Hettinger's place. "I had to jump out of an airplane with a general," he told reporters, "and set up his tent."

—MICHAEL BAUMANN

Calendar

AUSTIN

IN HONOR OF MAY DAY: A HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN LABOR STRUGGLE. Speaker: Tom Kincaid. Fri., May 4, 8 p.m. Harriet Tubman Hall, 1801 Nueces. Followed by May Day celebration and party. For more information call (512) 478-8602.

NEW YORK CITY

A SOCIALIST CONFERENCE ON INTERNATIONAL REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLES—May 4 and 5 at New York University. Fri., May 4, 8 p.m., Main Bldg., Seventh Floor, 100 Washington Sq. East: National Liberation, Socialism, and Vietnam by Dick Roberts. \$1. Sat., May 5, 11 a.m., Main Bldg. Rooms 806, 808, 809: Dynamics of African Liberation by Tony Thomas; The Case for an Independent Puerto Rico; Zionism and Anti-Semitism: A Marxist Critique by Dave Frankel. 50c per session. 1 p.m.: Conference participants will be marching in demonstration against high prices. 7:30 p.m., Tishman Auditorium: Socialist Campaign Rally, featuring Norman Oliver, SWP candidate for NYC mayor; Peter Camejo, speaking on Revolutionaries and the Argentina Elections. \$1. Following rally, party at 706 Broadway. Sun., May 6, 12 noon: International Revolution and American Youth. Speaker: Olga Rodriguez. For more information call (212) 982-8214.

SAN FRANCISCO

GRAND OPENING BANQUET AND MAY DAY CELEBRATION. Sat., May 5, 6:30 p.m. at new headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance, 1519 Mission St. Hear Fred Halstead speak on the revolutionary movement in Argentina. Dinner will be served. Entertainment. Cinco de Mayo party. Reservations: \$4 per person. Mail to SWP, 1519 Mission St., S.F., or call (415) 864-9174.

SEATTLE

SOCIALIST PERSPECTIVES '73. Socialist educational conference—May 11-12 at University of Washington, Sieg Hall, Room 134. Fri., May 11, 7:30 p.m.: Defending the African Liberation Struggle. Panel: Mark Smith, vice-chairman, YOB; Tony Thomas, Militant staff writer. \$1. Sat., May 12, 10 a.m.: Nixon's Squeeze on the Poor: Cutbacks and Inflation. Panel including Shirley Siegel of Seattle meat boycott; Eke Nelson, Martin Luther King Day-Care Center; Claire Fraenzl, SWP candidate for school board of Seattle; others. 50c. 1 p.m.: A Strategy for Revolutionary Youth. Presentation by Fred Lovgren, former national coordinator of Student Mobilization Committee and national committee member of Young Socialist Alliance. 50c. \$1.50 for entire conference. Sponsored by Young Socialists for Honts, Associated Students at the University of Washington, YSA, and political science dept., U of W.

SOCIALIST WORKERS CAMPAIGN BANQUET AND RALLY. Featured speakers: Norman Oliver, SWP candidate for mayor of New York City; Louise Pitell, SWP candidate for Seattle city council; Craig Honts, SWP candidate for mayor of Seattle; entertainment. Sat., May 12, American Friends Center, 4001 Ninth Ave. N.E., Seattle. Banquet: 6:30 p.m. Rally: 8 p.m. Donation: \$3.50 for entire evening. \$1.50, rally only, h.s. students 75c. For more information contact YSA, 5257 University Way N.E. Tel: (209) 523-2555.

TWIN CITIES

MAY DAY SPRING SOCIALIST CONFERENCE. Fri., May 4, 8 p.m.: The Struggle Against Racism by Andrew Pulley; Sat., May 5, 11 a.m.: History of the Antiwar Movement by Stephanie Coontz; 4 p.m.: The Family: A Marxist View by Mary Hillery; 6 p.m.: Dinner; 7:30 p.m.: Why Socialism? The Coming American Revolution by Stephanie Coontz. Entire conference: \$4.50, or \$1 per session. Dinner: \$1.50. 1 University Ave. N.E., Mpls. Sponsored by Young Socialist Alliance and Minneapolis Socialist Workers 1973 Campaign. For more information call (612) 332-7781.

...Ellsberg

Continued from page 4

ever, Judge Byrne halted this line of questioning.

In protesting the judge's ruling, the defense argued that in precedents set in the Nuremberg trials, an individual who has knowledge of violations of international law has a responsibility to report these violations to authorities. In the present case, the defense argued, these violations must have been reported to Congress.

By exposing violations of international law, the defense pointed out, an individual might put himself in violation of domestic law. In such a case a jury could decide that a defendant violated domestic law but acted reasonably under international law, thus excusing the offense under domestic law.

Judge Byrne, however, rejected this line of reasoning, and Falk was excused from the stand as the defense rested its case.

The first rebuttal witness called by the prosecution was retired Rear Admiral Lloyd Roland Vasey. He asserted that information in the Pentagon papers could be pieced together by an enemy power to form a valuable picture of U.S. contingency plans and capabilities. Cross-examination revealed that similar material was to be found in the semipublic Naval Institute Review.

...unions

Continued from page 11

partiality. The union movement should see to it that its representatives get off these government boards and put an end to the bureaucrat's par-

ticipation in Nixon's antilabor programs.

Instead of relying on the government, the unions should organize a big campaign to expose the lie of the ruling class that wages are the cause of inflation. Inflation is built into this capitalist system in its advanced stage. Rising prices are the fault of capitalism, not of the workers, and the workers shouldn't have to sacrifice their income for it. Instead they need to fight to protect themselves and their families against the effects of inflation.

War spending greatly exacerbates the inflationary pressure. The fight against rising prices should be linked to the fight against Nixon's recent threats to renew the bombing of North Vietnam, and the aggressive U.S. military operations now going on in Cambodia and Laos.

Many unions have gone on record against U.S. intervention in Southeast Asia, and many unions have been involved in antiwar activities. The ties the antiwar movement has established with the trade unionists through building the antiwar protests were important in winning support from students and others for the April 28 and May 5 protests. The fight against Nixon's war plans and the \$80-billion war budget should also be taken up by the union in the struggle against inflation.

...CP

Continued from page 19

less openly endorsed the Democratic presidential campaigns of Stevenson, Kennedy, Johnson, and Humphrey.

Each and every one of these phony turns—like the current one—has been carried out under the sign of "peaceful coexistence" between Moscow and one or more imperialist power. This doctrine, invented by Joseph Stalin, holds that the interests of the world working class can best be served by subordinating the class struggle in every country to the aims of promoting "peaceful" relations between the capitalist class of that country and the Soviet Union. The idea that the international class struggle should take a back seat to the interests of

Kremlin diplomacy flowed from Stalin's theory that it was possible to "build socialism in one country"—the Soviet Union.

This theory repudiated the Marxist position that there can be no lasting stability between a workers state and the capitalist world. Lenin and Trotsky repeatedly explained that the only way to defend the gains made by the 1917 Russian revolution was to extend the overturn of capitalism to other countries. But "peaceful coexistence" is a theory based on preserving the world status quo, instead of encouraging and aiding the revolutionary struggle to overthrow capitalism.

To carry it out, the Communist parties were transformed under Stalinist rule from revolutionary parties into political instruments designed to further the short-term interests of Soviet foreign policy.

This repudiation of an internationalist perspective was justified on the grounds that Soviet foreign policy was in the interests of the world working class, and that it would lead to world peace.

But the policy of making concessions to imperialism does not lead to peace. Instead, it encourages the imperialists to grab even more, to push even harder in their drive to defeat revolutions, and ultimately, to reestablish capitalism in the workers states. It was precisely the failure of Moscow and Peking to come to the aid and defense of the Vietnamese that led Washington to continue to escalate the war.

Nor is Moscow's foreign policy in the interests of the Soviet workers and peasants, who could only benefit from an extension of the revolution. The line of "peaceful coexistence" is of no aid to the revolutionary movement in the capitalist world. Anticapitalist struggles are derailed and sabotaged by the Stalinists, who subordinate the revolutionary movement to their support for the "progressive" wing of the ruling class.

It is on the basis of this theory of "peaceful coexistence" that the CP in this country justifies its policy of supporting capitalist politics. This can result in CP support—backhanded or openly—for Democrats or Republicans, with or without the cover of a CP candidate.

Despite the so-called new CP election policy, that line remains unaltered.

Socialist Directory

ALABAMA: Tuscaloosa: YSA, P.O. Box 5462, University, Ala. 35486.
ARIZONA: Phoenix: c/o Steve Shliveck, P.O. Box 890, Temple Ariz. 85281.

CALIFORNIA: Berkeley-Oakland: SWP and YSA, 3536 Telegraph Ave., Oakland, Calif. 94609. Tel: (415) 654-9728.

Chico: YSA, c/o Kathy Isabell, 266 E. Sacramento Ave., Chico, Calif. 95926.

Los Angeles: SWP and YSA, 1107 1/2 N. Western Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90029. Tel: SWP—(213) 463-1917, YSA—(213) 463-1966.

Riverside: YSA, c/o Univ. of Calif. at Riverside, 1134 Library South, Riverside, Calif. 92502.

Sacramento: YSA, c/o Darren Crown, 2321 "E" St., Sacramento, Calif. 95816.

San Diego: SWP, YSA, and Militant Bookstore, 4635 El Cajon Blvd., San Diego, Calif. 92115. Tel: (714) 280-1292.

San Francisco: SWP, YSA, Militant Labor Forum, and Militant Books, 1519 Mission St., San Francisco, Calif. 94103. Tel: (415) 864-9174.

San Jose: YSA, c/o Chico Aldape, 543 S. 9th, #5, San Jose, Calif. 95112. Tel: (408) 286-8492.

San Mateo: YSA, c/o Chris Stanley, 1712 Yorktown Rd., San Mateo, Calif. 97330.

Santa Barbara: YSA, c/o Carolyn Marsden, 413 Shasta Ln., Santa Barbara, Calif. 93101.

COLORADO: Boulder: YSA, c/o UMC Hostess Desk, U of Colorado, Boulder, Colo. 80302.

Denver: SWP, YSA, and Militant Bookstore, 1203 California, Denver, Colo. 80204. Tel: (303) 623-2825. Bookstore open Mon.-Sat., 10:30 a.m.—7 p.m.

CONNECTICUT: Hartford: YSA, P.O. Box 1184, Hartford, Conn. 06101. Tel: (203) 523-7582.

New Haven: YSA, P.O. Box 185, New Haven, Conn. 06501.

Storrs: YSA, U of Conn., P.O. Box 344, Storrs, Conn. 06268.

FLORIDA: Tallahassee: YSA, c/o Sarah Ryan, 1806 Lake Bradford Rd., Tallahassee, Fla. 32304.

GEORGIA: Atlanta: Militant Bookstore, 68 Peachtree St. N.E., Third Floor, Atlanta, Ga. 30303. SWP and YSA, P.O. Box 846, Atlanta, Ga. 30301. Tel: (404) 523-0610.

ILLINOIS: Carbondale: YSA, c/o Lawrence Roth/Mark Harris, 505 S. Graham, #341, Carbondale, Ill. 62901.

Chicago: SWP, YSA, and bookstore, 180 N. Wacker Dr., Room 310, Chicago, Ill. 60606. Tel: SWP—(312) 641-0147, YSA—(312) 641-0233.

INDIANA: Bloomington: YSA, c/o Student Activities Desk, Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind. 47401.

IOWA: Cedar Falls: YSA, c/o Mark Jacobsen, 2310 College St. Apt. B, Cedar Falls, Iowa 50613. Tel: (319) 277-2544.

KENTUCKY: Lexington: YSA, P.O. Box 952, University Station, Lexington, Ky. 40506.

LOUISIANA: Lafayette: YSA, c/o Cliff Schlicher, 216 Spring St., La-

fayette, La. 70501.

Lake Charles: YSA, c/o Cathy Harrison, P.O. Box 16, MSU, Lake Charles, La. 70601.

MARYLAND: Baltimore: YSA, c/o Dave McKim, 2103 Belair Rd., Baltimore, Md. 21213. Tel: (301) 732-8996.

College Park: YSA, University P.O. Box 73, U of Md., College Park, Md. 20742.

MASSACHUSETTS: Amherst: YSA, R.S.O. Box 324, U of Mass., Amherst, Mass. 01002.

Boston: SWP and YSA, c/o Militant Labor Forum, 655 Atlantic Ave., Third Floor, Boston, Mass. 02111. Tel: SWP—(617) 482-8050, YSA—(617) 482-8051; Issues and Activists Speaker's Bureau (IASB) and Regional Committee—(617) 482-8052; Pathfinder Books—(617) 338-8560.

MICHIGAN: Detroit: SWP, YSA, Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward Ave., Detroit, Mich. 48201. Tel: (313) TE1-6135.

East Lansing: YSA, Second Floor Offices, Union Bldg. Michigan State University, East Lansing, Mich. 48823.

Mt. Pleasant: YSA, P.O. Box 98, Warriner Hall, CMU, Mt. Pleasant, Mich. 48858.

MINNESOTA: Minneapolis-St. Paul: SWP, YSA, and Labor Bookstore, 1 University N.E. (at E. Hennepin) Second Floor, Mpls. 55413. Tel: (612) 332-7781.

MISSOURI: Kansas City: YSA, c/o Student Activities Office, U of Missouri at Kansas City, 5100 Rockhill Road, Kansas City, Mo. 64110.

St. Louis: YSA, P.O. Box 8037, St. Louis, Mo. 63156. Tel: (314) 371-1503.

NEW HAMPSHIRE: Portsmouth: YSA, P.O. Box 479, Durham, N.H. 03824.

NEW JERSEY: New Brunswick: YSA, c/o Ruben Montare, Livingston College, Room 313, New Brunswick, N.J. 10119. Tel: (201) 463-9766.

NEW MEXICO: Albuquerque: YSA, c/o Kathy Helmer, 9920 Leyendecker Rd. N.E., Albuquerque, N.M. 87112. Tel: (505) 296-6230.

NEW YORK: Albany: YSA, c/o Laura Grunberg, Box 2179, Mohican Hall, Indian Quad 1400, Washington Ave. SUNY, Albany, N.Y. 12203.

Binghamton: YSA, Box 1073, Harpur College, Binghamton, N.Y. 13901. Tel: (607) 798-4142.

Brooklyn: SWP and YSA, 136 Lawrence St. (at Willoughby), Brooklyn, N.Y. 11201. Tel: (212) 596-2849.

Long Island: YSA, P.O. Box 357, Roosevelt, L.I., N.Y. 11575. Tel: (516) FR9-0289.

New York City—City-wide SWP and YSA, 706 Broadway (4th St.), Eighth Floor, New York, N.Y. 10003. Tel: (212) 982-8214.

Lower Manhattan: SWP, YSA, and Merit Bookstore, 706 Broadway (4th St.), Eighth Floor, New York, N.Y. 10003. Tel: SWP, YSA—(212) 982-6051; Merit Books—(212) 982-5940.

Upper West Side: SWP and YSA, 2744 Broadway (106th St.), New York, N.Y. 10025. Tel: (212) 663-3000.

OHIO: Bowling Green: YSA, Box 27, U. Hall, Bowling Green State

University, Bowling Green, Ohio 43402.

Cincinnati: YSA, c/o C.R. Mitts, P.O. Box 32084, Cincinnati, Ohio 45232. Tel: (513) 242-6132.

Cleveland: SWP and YSA, 4420 Superior Ave., Cleveland, Ohio 44103. Tel: SWP—(216) 391-5553, YSA—(216) 391-3278.

Columbus: YSA, c/o Daryl Drobnick, 1510 Georgesville Rd., Columbus, Ohio 43228.

Toledo: YSA, c/o Shannon O'Toole, 1606 Freeman St., #2, Toledo, Ohio 43606. Tel: (419) 472-2592.

Yellow Springs: YSA, Antioch College Union, Yellow Springs, Ohio 45387.

OREGON: Eugene: YSA, c/o Dave Hough, 1216 1/2 Lincoln, Eugene, Ore. 97401.

Portland: SWP and YSA, 208 S.W. Stark, Fifth Floor, Portland, Ore. 97204. Tel: (503) 226-2715.

PENNSYLVANIA: Edinboro: YSA, Edinboro State College, Edinboro, Pa. 16412.

Philadelphia: SWP and YSA, 1004 Filbert St. (one block north of Market), Philadelphia, Pa. 19107. Tel: (215) WA5-4316.

RHODE ISLAND: Providence: YSA, P.O. Box 117, Annex Sta., Providence, R.I. 02901. Militant Bookstore: 88 Benevolent St. Tel: (401) 331-1480.

SOUTH DAKOTA: Sioux Falls: YSA, c/o Deb Rogers, Box 1658, Augustana College, Sioux Falls, S. Dak. 57102.

TENNESSEE: Nashville: YSA, 1214 17th Ave. S., Nashville, Tenn. 37212. Tel: (615) 292-8827.

TEXAS: Austin: YSA, SWP, Militant Bookstore, Harriet Tubman Hall, 1801 Nueces, Austin, Texas 78701. Tel: (512) 478-8602.

Houston: SWP, YSA, and Pathfinder Books, 3311 Montrose, Houston, Texas 77006. Tel: (713) 526-1082.

San Antonio: YSA, c/o P.O. Box 774, San Antonio, Texas 78202.

UTAH: Logan: YSA, P.O. Box 1233, Utah State University, Logan, Utah 84321.

Salt Lake City: YSA, Student Activities Center, University of Utah, Salt Lake City, Utah 84112.

VERMONT: Burlington: YSA, c/o John Franco, 241 Malletts Bay Ave., Winooski, Vt. 05404.

WASHINGTON, D.C.: SWP and YSA, 746 9th St. N.W., Second Floor, Wash., D.C. 20001. Tel: (202) 783-2363.

WASHINGTON: Pullman: YSA, c/o Dean W. Johnson, 1718 A St., Pullman, Wash. 99163.

Seattle: SWP, YSA, and Militant Bookstore, 5257 University Way N.E., Seattle, Wash. 98105. Hrs. 11 a.m.-8 p.m., Mon.-Sat. Tel: (206) 523-2555.

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THE MILITANT

Stop Detroit's killer cops Abolish STRESS unit now!

By MIKE KELLY

DETROIT, April 20—A number of prominent Black leaders have announced they will speak at the April 28 demonstration against police terror. The demonstrators are demanding abolition of the police terror squad known as STRESS ("Stop The Robberies, Enjoy Safe Streets").

STRESS has killed 18 people, 17 of them Black, since its inception in January 1971.

Scheduled to speak at this point are Elliot Hall, president of the NAACP; Stu House, aide to Congressman John Conyers (D-Mich.); Larry Simmons, African Liberation Support Committee; Loretta Akers, president, Associated Black Students, Wayne State University.

Also, Cornelius Hudson, president of Local 26 of the Sanitation Workers union; Samuel Simpson, president, Wolverine Bar Association; Ron Lockett, coordinator of the Coalition to Abolish STRESS; Maceo Dixon, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor; Trudi Hawkins, coordinator of Mumford High School Students Against STRESS; and others.

New endorsers of the demonstration include Imari Obadele, president of the Republic of New Africa, and "Butterball Jr." of the radio station WCHB. They join such figures as state representatives Daisy Elliot and Jackie Vaughn III in endorsing the action.

A news conference is scheduled for April 24 in Representative John Conyers's office to announce final plans for the action. The city's Park Commission has approved Kennedy Square as the site for the 1:30 p.m. rally.

The police department, however, is refusing to okay the march route.

Maceo Dixon launches socialist campaign for mayor of Detroit.
See page 17.

Demonstrators are to assemble at Wayne State University and march from there to Kennedy Square. The route includes going through the Brewster Street projects. The police are apparently afraid the marchers will pick up considerable support from this heavily populated Black area.

Coalition activists said they intend to fight for the original march route when the question comes up before Detroit's common council.

Support for the protest continues to

grow. More than 50,000 leaflets have been passed out and committees have been organized at a number of area high schools and campuses. The organizing center for the coalition has been the office of the Associated Black Students at Wayne State University. The coalition has now been officially recognized as a student organization and received its first budget.

For the Coalition to Abolish STRESS and its predecessor, the Independent Black Committee of Inquiry into Police Terror, the April 28 demonstration will climax a four-month campaign to expose how STRESS terrorizes the Black community and to mobilize the anti-STRESS sentiment in effective action to abolish it.

A series of widely publicized hearings were held in the Black community earlier this year. Many citizens testified to having witnessed or experienced police brutality. A series of rallies, picket lines, and memorial meetings involved several thousand Black people.

Those wanting to contribute funds or work with the coalition should call (313) 577-3489 or come to the Wayne State Associated Black Students Office, University Center Building.

DETROIT, April 20—Recorder's Court Judge Samuel Gardner has dropped charges of arson against 18-year-old Hayward Brown.

Brown had faced the arson charge as a result of a firebombing of the Planned Parenthood League office here Jan. 12.

This was the second charge dropped against Brown. On April 6 Gardner dropped first-degree murder charges against Brown in the death of patrolman Robert Bradford, a member of Detroit's STRESS ("Stop The Robberies, Enjoy Safe Streets") squad.

Brown and two companions, 23-year-old John Percy Boyd and 22-year-old Mark Clyde Bethune, were charged with the Dec. 27 death of Bradford and the wounding of his partner, Robert Dooley, also of the STRESS squad.

Gardner said he couldn't find "one scintilla of evidence that defendant Hayward Brown in any way whatsoever was involved in the deliberate and premeditated killing of officer Bradford."

Brown, Boyd, and Bethune were also being sought by Detroit police for the Dec. 4 wounding of four STRESS officers.

Boyd and Bethune were gunned



STRESS cop armed with an M-1 carbine and snub-nosed .38 checks Detroit street map before going out on night patrol. Since its inception in 1971, STRESS cops have killed 18 people. Seventeen of the victims have been Black.

down by Atlanta police in separate incidents in February. Brown was captured Jan. 12 and severely beaten by police at the time. Many credit his not being murdered to the massive protest at Detroit's common council, where some 2,000 Blacks protested the brutal police methods being used in the search for the three Blacks.

Brown still faces charges of attempted murder in the Dec. 4 shootings, assault with intent to kill in the Dec. 27 ones, and an earlier concealed weapons charge. April 30 has been set as Brown's trial date for the Dec. 4 attempted murder charges.

Brown's attorneys, including the well-known Black attorney Kenneth Cockrel, have announced they will argue self-defense in that trial.

An attempt to have Gardner, who is Black, removed as the presiding judge was refused by Recorder's Judge George Crockett Jr., who received the petition to do so from the county prosecutor.

Brown is now eligible for bail. Bail was originally set for \$72,000 but subsequently reduced by Gardner to

\$8,000. Prosecutor William Cahalan denounced the lowering of bail and appealed the decision to the Michigan Court of Appeals. The three-judge panel of the Appeals Court has temporarily set aside Gardner's ruling, thus raising the bail back to \$72,000.

Cahalan's request for an emergency hearing on the matter is expected today.

A news conference of prominent Black leaders attacked the ruling. They included Cockrel; Elliot Hall, president of the NAACP; Edward Bell, former Wayne County judge and candidate for mayor; and State Senator Coleman Young, also a candidate for mayor.

Cahalan made no similar protest when bail for STRESS cop Raymond Peterson was set at \$10,000. Peterson is now free on bail, charged with the March 9 murder of 24-year-old Robert Hoyt. Peterson has been involved in more than half of the STRESS unit's 18 killings in the last two years. Seventeen of the victims have been Blacks.



Part of crowd of 2,000 at Detroit common council meeting in January protesting STRESS activities.